

SOME EARLY DEFINITIONS
OF THE TAWRIYA
AND
ṢAFADĪ'S *FADḌ AL-XITĀM*
AN AT-TAWRIYA WA-'L-ISTIXDĀM

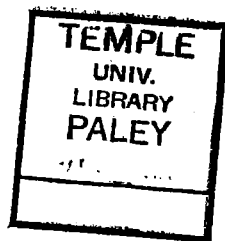
by

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 من الأوالاه . الصبح الى حواء
 و جمال النساء
 و منزهه



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١٤٥١



Title-page of the MS Köprülü 1351 of Ṣafadī's *Faḍḍ al-Xitām 'an at-Tawriya wa-'l-Istixdām*.

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PREFACE

Some of the notes on which the following study is based were collected during two visits to Istanbul, in the summers of 1957 and 1959, made possible by a travel grant from the Netherlands Organization of Pure Research (Z.W.O.). As I explained in a recent article in *Oriens* (vol. XIII, 1960) I had intended to publish an article containing notes on manuscripts dealing with Arabic literary theory on which very little or nothing had as yet been published. One of the manuscripts I had selected was the MS Köprülü 1351 of the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām ‘an at-Tawriya wa-l-Istixdām* by Şalāḥaddīn Xalīl b. Aybak aş-Şafadī. However, when I started to summarize this manuscript I found that it was hardly possible to discuss its contents without giving an outline of the history of the term *tawriya* and its synonyms, *ihām*, *muğālaḡa ma‘nawiyya*, etc. Moreover, it appeared necessary to give some attention to figures that are related to the *tawriya* or are frequently mentioned in connection with it. I therefore decided that it would be better to deal with the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* separately, leaving the other manuscripts to be dealt with later. I hope that by doing so I may throw some light on a figure which, though of course not limited to Arabic literature, seems to have been specially favored by the post-classical Arab poets and is frequently discussed by Arab literary theorists from the fifth century onwards.¹

I have been working at this book at irregular intervals over a number of years, mostly during vacations. Very often important texts and works of reference were unavailable to me or available for a limited time only. As a result of this the references, especially those quoted for some of the fragments of poetry, are often not adequate and up-to-date. I trust that readers who have some acquaintance with the subject will not find this a serious inconvenience and will easily be able to supply additional

¹ Photographs of the MSS quoted in this book were obtained by the kind permission of the Turkish Ministry of Education and of the Escorial Library in Spain.

references themselves. On the other hand, I purposely omitted a number of variants which I did not consider important enough to be mentioned.

When the book was ready to go to press, Dr. Soledad Gibert in Madrid kindly sent me an offprint of her article, *Una colección de «tawriyas» de Abū Ga'far Aḥmad ibn Ḥātima*, published in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, pp. 543–557, for which I should like to express my gratitude. The article contains a discussion of Ibn Xātima's *Rā'iq at-Taḥliya fī Fā'iq at-Tawriya* (see below, p. 44, note 1), the text and translation of a large number of interesting examples from this collection, and a survey of the various types of *tawriya* as described by Ṣafadī and others. In addition it contains important observations on poets, both from the East and from the West, who distinguished themselves in composing *tawriyas* and on the types of homonymy used by these poets. Readers of the article will agree with me that it would have been useful if I had found occasion to avail myself of the rich material it offers. For various reasons, however, it was impossible to postpone the publication of my own study any longer, so that I am in no position to do Dr. Gibert's article justice.

Finally I wish to thank my colleagues at Columbia University, Professor J. Schacht, Professor T. Halasi-Kun, and Professor E. Yar-Shater for reading all or part of the manuscript of this book and for valuable suggestions, and the Editorial Board of this Series for undertaking its publication.

New York, June 1963

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Consonants:¹

ء	‘	ز	z	ف	f
ب	b	س	s	ق	q
ت	t	ش	š	ك	k
ث	ṭ	ص	ṣ	ل	l
ج	c	ض	ḍ	م	m
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ن	n
خ	x	ظ	ẓ	ه	h
د	d	ع	‘	و	w
ذ	ḏ	غ	ġ	ی	y
ر	r				

Vowels: Short: a, u, i;

Long: ā, ū, ī;

Diphthongs: aw, ay.

Waṣla (*i.e.*, elision of the consonant ء): ‘

Some Abbreviations:

b. = ibn

bt. = bint

EI¹ = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., Leiden, 1913–1938

EI² = *idem*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1954

GAL, G I, G II = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1943–1949, vols. I and II

S I, S II = *idem*, Supplement, Leiden, 1937–1942, vols. I and II.

Muḥ. = Muḥammad

¹ For technical reasons I have preferred to use the transcriptions ṭ, c, x, ḏ, š, ġ instead of th, j, kh, dh, sh, and gh commonly adopted in English texts.

1. INTRODUCTION

The figure of speech for which most Arab and Persian literary theorists use either the term *tawriya*, 'disguising', or the term *ihām*, 'making [somebody] imagine', is a kind of word-play based on using a word with a double meaning in a context where both meanings are allowable, at least syntactically, though only one of them is actually intended by the author. The meaning that is, according to these critics, not intended by the author usually appears as wholly absurd or somewhat far-fetched in this context, even though there are elements that remind the hearer of its existence. Occasionally, too, the critics quote as examples of the figure sentences in which some elements support one and some the other of the two meanings in such a way that it is impossible for the hearer to decide which is intended by the author. They also quote sentences from the Koran containing anthropomorphic expressions, and hold that the fact that the anthropomorphic expression in each of these cannot possibly be understood in its literal sense by a good Muslim directs the hearer's attention to a second and, according to them, correct interpretation.

It is by no means easy to find a term in a modern Western language corresponding to the term *tawriya* in Arabic. The French *double entendre* and the German *Doppelsinnwitz*¹ obviously come closest to it (though one should keep in mind that most of the *tawriyas* of the Arabs do not easily allow a double interpretation, as will be explained later). The English *pun*, the French *calembour*, and the Italian *bisticcio* are, I believe, occasionally used in the sense of *tawriya*, but appear by no means exclusively in this sense.² Nor is it easy to offer a more

¹ See E. Elster, *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft* (Halle, 1897), I, pp. 334-336.

² These three terms seem to be applied also, and perhaps more often, to what the Arabs would call *tacnīs* (roughly: paronomasia). The French term *équivoque* is also used in the sense of paronomasia (judging from the examples given by H. Morier,

precise definition than the one I have tried to give above, or to outline in detail the various types of *tawriyas* one may find. The definitions given by the Arab critics differ considerably, and the examples quoted show a wide variety of patterns. The reader who is not acquainted with the Arabic language, but nevertheless wishes to have some idea of the sense in which the term is understood by the Arabs, should rely on the translations of some of the examples which appear on the following pages and which attempt to follow the Arabic text as closely as possible. He will derive much less benefit from the translations of the definitions of the figure, since many of these are vague and contradictory. It will be clear from the examples that many *tawriyas* depend on the use of a word both as a common substantive and as a proper name, a geographical name, a term in astronomy, the title of a chapter in the Koran, or the title of a well-known work of Muslim scholarship. However, this is not as often the case as one would expect, and many examples depend on pure lexical homonymy and even on the identity in form of a noun and a verb. *Tawriyas* resulting in two equally acceptable interpretations of the sentence (the true *double entendre*) are of comparatively rare occurrence. The context of the *tawriya*-word usually creates no more than an association with its second meaning, this association being created occasionally through the fact that one of the meanings, if adopted, would result in a paradox.

Many of the Arab literary theorists of the late Middle Ages follow a system of classification that distinguishes four types of *tawriya*. This system seems to go back to Şafadî. The four types have been adequately described by Mehren in his *Rhetorik der Araber* (Wien, 1853, pp. 105 to 107).³ As, however, Mehren does not always give preference to the examples that are traditionally used by the Arab literary theorists, and as his invaluable handbook is not always easily accessible, it will be useful to discuss this classification once more. We will also have occasion to discuss a few of the problems it raises for a modern critic.

The first type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya mucarrada* or 'bare' *tawriya*,

Dictionnaire de poétique et rhétorique, Paris, 1961, pp. 166-167), though one would rather expect to find it as an equivalent of *tawriya*.

³ See also M. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'Orient musulman* (Paris, 1823), pp. 90-91; art. TAWRIYA in the 1st edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (with an important bibliography). The *tawriya* in Persian literature is discussed in F. Gladwin, *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians* (Calcutta, 1801), pp. 34-36; Rückert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (Gotha, 1874), pp. 279-285. For the *tawriya* in Turkish poetry, see the numerous interesting examples quoted by Gibb in his *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900 to 1907), Indexes s.vv., *ihām*, Amphibology, and Word-Plays.

depends on using the *tawriya*-word in a context which, as the Arab critics say, contains no 'attributes' (*lawāzim*, sing. *lāzim*) of either of its two meanings. These critics frequently quote as belonging to this type of *tawriya* the following two lines composed by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ:⁴

كَأَنَّ نِيسَانَ أَهْدَىٰ مِنْ مَلَابِسِهِ
لشهر كانون أنوعاً من الحُللِ
أوالغزاة من طُولِ المَدَى خَرِفَتْ
فما تُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ الجَدَى والحَمَلِ

"It is as though Nisān⁵ (*i.e.*, April) had given of its own clothes various dresses to the month of Kānūn⁶ (*i.e.*, December or January) / Or as though the sun (or: the she-gazelle) had become weak of intellect through old age and could no longer distinguish between the sign of Capricorn and the sign of Aries (or: between the kid and the lamb)".

The word *gazāla* in the second line may mean both 'she-gazelle' and 'sun'. The first meaning, being the more common, suggests itself more readily, though what is actually intended by the poet is the second meaning. Similarly the words *cady*, 'kid', and *ḥamal*, 'lamb', which at first sight appear to have the sense respectively of 'kid' and 'lamb', are actually intended as names of signs of the Zodiac. The Arab critics point out that since these two words are themselves ambiguous, they cannot be considered as elements in the sentence related to either of the two meanings of the word *gazāla*.

The second type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya muraššaḥa* or 'prepared *tawriya*', depends on using the *tawriya*-word in a context which contains 'attributes' of the meaning that is not intended by the poet (called [*al-ma'nā*] *al-muwarrā bihī*, 'the hiding sense', or *al-ma'nā al-qarīb*, 'the nearer sense'). The Arab critics frequently quote the following two lines attributed to the Ḥamāsa poet Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥanafī to illustrate this type of *tawriya*:⁷

⁴ See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, G I, p. 369, S I, p. 630; *ET*¹, s.v. 'Iyāḍ.

⁵ Var. Kānūn.

⁶ Var. Tammūz (July).

⁷ Āmidī, *Mu'talif* (Cairo, 1354), p. 377 (attributed to Mūsā b. Cābir al-Ḥanafī); Marzubānī, *Mu'cam* (Cairo, 1354), p. 165 (again attributed to Mūsā b. Cābir al-Ḥanafī; first line only); Abu 'l-Farac al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* (Cairo, 1938), XI, p. 317 (attributed to Mūsā b. Cābir al-Ḥanafī; *aḡmadnā* for *aḡdaynā*); Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, with the commentary of Marzūqī (Cairo, 1951), p. 326; *idem*, with the commentary of Tibrizī (ed. Freytag), p. 161.

فلما نأت عنا العشرة كلَّها
 أنخنا فحالفنا السيوف على الدهر
 فما أسلمتنا عند يوم كريمة
 ولا نحن أغضينا الجفون على وتر

“When all our kinsfolk had moved away from us we made our camels kneel (*i.e.*, stayed where we were, stood firm) and swore to keep to our swords forever / And they did not betray us on days of battle, nor did we [allow ourselves to] close our scabbards while there was still un-revenged murder”.

The word *cufūn* (plural of *cafn*) in the second line means not only ‘scabbards’ but also ‘eyelids’. If one adopts the second meaning the translation of the second hemistich becomes: “... and we did not close our eyelids on unrevenged murder”. According to the Arab critics this second meaning of the word *cufūn* is not intended by the poet, though it is supported by the word *agḡaynā*, ‘we contracted our eyelids’, which, of course, strictly speaking must have a word meaning ‘eyelids’ as its object.

The third type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya mubayyana* or ‘explained *tawriya*’, depends on using the *tawriya*-word in a context which contains ‘attributes’ of the meaning that is intended by the poet (called [*al-ma‘nā*] *al-muwarnā* ‘*anhu*, ‘the hidden sense’, or *al-ma‘nā al-ba‘īd*, ‘the farther sense’). The Arab literary theorists often illustrate this type of *tawriya* by the following line by the Abbasid poet, Buḥturī:⁸

وراء تَسْدِيَةِ الوُشَاةِ مَلِيَّةٌ
 بِالْحُسْنِ تَمْلُحُ فِي الْقُلُوبِ وَتَعَذُّبُ

“Behind the art of the embroiderers (*i.e.*, the veil) there is one (*i.e.*, a girl) rich in beauty who is pleasing (or: bitter) and sweet in the hearts [of men]”.

In this example the word *tamluḥ* is said to have the double meaning of ‘is salty’ or ‘is bitter’, and ‘is pleasing’, the second meaning, which is the one intended by the poet, being supported by the words *maliyya bi-l-ḥusn*, ‘rich in beauty’. We shall see later that, according to some critics, the first meaning of *tamluḥ* is, in its turn, supported by the word *ta‘ḡub*, ‘is sweet’, which, being the opposite of ‘is salty’ or ‘is bitter’, may

⁸ *Dīwān* (Istanbul, 1300), II, p. 188; *idem* (Beirut, 1911), II, p. 682.

be considered an element related to *tamluḥ*. These critics hold that the line represents either a second type of the *tawriya mucarrada* or an independent fifth type which Suyūṭī calls by the name of *tawriya muq-tarina*.

The following line, which is attributed by Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāt to Mas-ʿūd b. Saʿd b. Salmān (d. 515),⁹ is also frequently quoted as an example of the *tawriya mubayyana*:

أرى ذَنَبَ السَّرْحَانِ فِي الْجَوِّ سَاطِعَا
فَهَلْ مُمْكِنٌ أَنْ الْغَزَالَةُ تَطْلُعُ

"I see the false dawn (or: the tail of the wolf)¹⁰ spreading upwards into the sky. Is it possible that the sun (or: the she-gazelle) is rising?"

The poet intends the words *ḍanab as-sirḥān* and *gazāla* to be understood respectively in the sense of 'false dawn' and 'sun' and supports these two senses by *sāṭiʿ*, 'spreading into the sky', and *taṭluʿ*, 'rising'.

The fourth type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya muhayyaʿa* or 'supported *tawriya*', distinguishes itself from the three other types in that the context contains a word (which in this case is not called *lāzim*) without which the double meaning of the *tawriya* word would not be clear. To illustrate this type of *tawriya* the Arab critics often quote the following line which is attributed to one [ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl] b. ar-Rabīʿ:¹¹

لَوْ لَا التَّطَيَّرُ بِالْخِلَافِ وَأَنْهَمُ
قَالُوا مَرِيضٌ لَا يَعُودُ مَرِيضًا
لَقَضَيْتَ نَحْبًا فِي فَنَائِكَ خِدْمَةً
لَأَكُونَ مَمْنَدُوبًا قَضَى مَفْرُوضًا

"If I had not drawn an evil omen from doing a thing contrary to custom (?)¹² and they had not said: 'The sick should not visit the sick' / Then I should have ended my life in thy courtyard, serving thee, so that I would be a bewailed one (or: one asked to serve) who had done his duty".

⁹ See Browne, *A Literary History of the Persians*, II, pp. 324–326; Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī (trans. Browne) in *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 693–740, and 1906, pp. 11–51; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 189.

¹⁰ On this expression, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv., *sirḥān*, *sāṭiʿ*, and *mustaṭīl*.

¹¹ See, *Agānī* (Cairo, 1285), XVII, p. 121–141.

¹² I follow the interpretation offered by Muḥammad ʿAbdalmunʿim Xafācī in his edition of Qazwīnī's *al-Idāḥ fi ʿUlūm al-Balāḡa* (Cairo, 1950), VII, p. 41.

The word *mandūb* in the second line has two meanings: 'a person whose death is bewailed', and 'a thing recommended by religious law'. The second meaning which, according to the Arab critics, is not intended by the poet, would not be clear without the presence of the word *mafrūd*, 'a thing made obligatory by religious law'. For *mafrūd*, by its juxtaposition to *mandūb*, suggests taking *mandūb* in the technical sense which scholars of Muslim law give to this word.¹³

Very often in the case of this type of *tawriya* the essential element in the context is furnished by a second *tawriya* which, by its juxtaposition to the first, enables the hearer to discover what the poet has in mind, this second *tawriya* being in its turn explained by the first. We find this second type of the *tawriya muhayya'a* in two lines by the Umayyad poet, 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a.¹⁴ In these the poet condemns the fact that the beautiful Turayyā (bt. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārīṭ b. Umayya) had been given in marriage to the ugly Suhayl (b. 'Abdarrahmān b. 'Awf; according to others, b. 'Abdal'azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam or an unidentified man from Yemen):

أيتها المنكح الثريا سهيلا
عمرك الله كيف يلتقيان
هي شامية إذا ما استقلت
وسهيلا إذا استقل يانسي

"O thou who givest in marriage Turayyā to Suhayl! By God, how will they ever meet? Turayyā (or: the Pleiades), whenever she rises (they rise), comes (come) from Syria, but Suhayl (or: Canopus), when rising, comes from the Yemen".

In these lines the double meaning of the word *Turayyā*, 'the lady Turayyā' and 'the Pleiades', would not be clear without the poet juxtaposing it to *Suhayl*, which, like *Turayyā*, is used not only as a proper name, but also as a term in astronomy. The double meaning of the word *Suhayl* in its turn becomes clear from its juxtaposition to *Turayyā*. Ṣa-fadī explains that the lady Turayyā and her husband, Suhayl, were in fact of Syrian and Yemenite origin respectively, as a consequence of

¹³ The handbooks offer no further explanation. I have rendered *mandūb* by 'one asked to serve', since rendering it by 'a thing recommended by religious law' (which would be the technical sense which runs parallel to the technical sense of *mafrūd*) does not make sense in this context. One could perhaps also translate: "someone (whose assistance or service is) recommended".

¹⁴ *Dīwān* (ed. Schwarz), no. 439.

which neither the word *Šāmiyya*, 'Syrian', nor the word *Yamānī*, 'Yemenite', can be considered as an element related to *Ṭurayyā* or *Suhayl* as an exclusively astronomical term.

The preceding examples may not seem to us all of them very convincing. Especially in the case of the lines of *Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr* and *Buḥturī*, we may doubt whether the word-play was purposely sought by the poet. The Arab critics, as we shall see later, never ceased to look for *tawriyas* in the work of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, and the *tawriyas* in these two examples might well exist only in the critics' imagination. The theory which underlies the term *lawāzim* (i.e., attributes of one of the two concepts expressed by the *tawriya*-word),¹⁵ and the theory of the "essential element in the context" raise some further problems. As far as I know, the Arab literary theorists have never attempted to define what should be considered a *lāzim* and what not, as a result of which the concept never became quite clear. According to *Ibn Ḥicca al-Ḥamawī*,¹⁶ the difference between the *lāzim*, as a part of the *tawriya muraššaḥa* and the *tawriya mubayyana*, and the indispensable element in the context, as a part of the *tawriya muḥayya'a*, lies in the fact that the former only strengthens (*yuḡawwī*) the *tawriya* but the latter cannot be missed. Yet I very much doubt whether it would ever be possible to explain the lines of *Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr* and *Buḥturī* as word-plays (assuming that they were intended as such by the poets) without *cufūn* being the object of a verb like *aḡḡaynā* in the line by *Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr*, and without the presence of the words *maliyya bi-'l-ḥusn* in the line by *Buḥturī*. In the case of the line by *Mas'ūd b. Sa'd*, it is true that the word-play would be clear without the presence of the words *sāṭi'* and *taṭlu'*. But there can be no doubt that without the juxtaposition of *ḡanab as-sirḥān* and *ḡazāla* it would be impossible to tell whether the poet intended the hearer to be aware of the double meaning of these words. The same is true of the two lines by the *Qāḍī 'Iyād* in which the word-play becomes clear through the juxtaposition of *ḡazāla*, *cady*, and *ḡamal*.¹⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that there is disagreement among

¹⁵ Instead of the term *lawāzim* *Qazwīnī* and his followers use the term *šay' yulā'im*, 'something related to [the hiding meaning]', in apparently the same sense. The same *Qazwīnī*, as well as *Taftāzānī* and *Suyūṭī*, uses the term *lawāzim* in his chapter on *kināya* (metonymy), where it has the sense of 'necessary consequences', 'results'.

¹⁶ See, *Kašf al-Liṭām* (Beirut, 1312), p. 161.

¹⁷ *Šihābaddīn ar-Ru'aynī* (d. 779, see, *GAL*, GII, p. 111, S II, p. 138) may have been aware of the inconsistency in the classification of the example by the *Qāḍī 'Iyād*. For in a passage quoted by *Suyūṭī* (*Šarḥ 'Uqūd al-Cumān*, Cairo, 1358, p. 115) he observes that the *tawriya mucarrada* is more common (*a'amm*) than the *muḥayya'a*, since when-

the literary theorists on the number of categories into which they divide the *tawriya*. Some adopt the above classification, which seems to go back to Şafadî, while others either adopt no classification at all or adopt an older classification which is first found in a work by Badraddîn b. Mâlik and which limits the categories of the *tawriya* to two: a *tawriya mucarrada*, which contains no elements related to the nearer or hiding meaning, and a *tawriya muraşşaha*, which does contain such elements (without a clear statement as to whether these elements are essential to an understanding of the word-play). To add to the confusion, the Arab literary theorists fail to make clear why they adopt one classification and reject (or rather do not follow) another and only occasionally explain their differences of opinion with regard to the classification of some examples.

I have to confess that (perhaps owing to lack of experience on my part) I have been unable to find a satisfactory explanation of the theories underlying the above classifications. On the other hand I am quite certain that the hesitation of the Arab critics can at least be partly explained by assuming that they were not sufficiently aware of the function of the context of the *tawriya*-word and did not analyze this context in detail. This would account for the fact that one critic so often discovered something in the context that had escaped another and for the vagueness of most definitions of the *tawriya*. In addition, I think this disregard for the context explains the curious phenomenon of the Arab critics failing to ask themselves whether the word-plays they discovered in the examples quoted in their chapters on the *tawriya* were actually intended by the poets. Otherwise they would have realized that the existence of word-plays in the lines of Yaḥyâ b. Manşûr and Buḥturî is not altogether certain. The word-play must reveal itself through the fact that the poet's choice of certain words in the context of the homonym can be explained only as an attempt to show that these words are

ever there is a *tawriya muhayya'a*, there is also a *tawriya mucarrada*, though the reverse is not the case. He goes on to say that the *tawriya mucarrada* depends on one single word, and that whenever this word is connected with a second we also have a *tawriya muhayya'a*. It is not possible to draw any definite conclusions from this statement, as we do not know what Ibn Cābir understood by the terms *tawriya mucarrada* and *tawriya muhayya'a*. It is possible that, like Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' (see below, pp. 53-54), he held that a sentence such as *Ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā Ziyādan* already contained a word-play on the word *Turayyā*. This would then mean that the only difference between the *tawriya mucarrada* and the *tawriya muhayya'a* is that the latter contains two word-plays, each of which may be considered a separate *tawriya mucarrada*. I have not come across any similar attempt to explain the *tawriya muhayya'a* as a category of the *tawriya mucarrada*.

somehow related in meaning to one of the two senses of the homonym, or, like the homonym, have themselves two meanings. The word-play can also reveal itself through the fact that if one changes one's interpretation of the sense of the homonym, this context likewise lends itself to a striking new interpretation. In the line by Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr there is, according to the Arab critics, a play on the word *cufūn* supported by the word *aḡḡaynā*. This would mean that the poet selected the word *aḡḡaynā* in order to bring out a second meaning of the word *cufūn* that is not in line with the rest of the context. If, however, we study this context carefully, we find that, in spite of the description in the first line of the quotation of the poet and his companions swearing allegiance to their swords, there is nothing in the context that would make it difficult to interpret *aḡḡaynā* 'l-*cufūn* as meaning 'we closed our eyelids', so that it is not certain that the poet selected the word *aḡḡaynā* for any special purpose. Nor does the quotation as a whole lend itself to any striking new interpretation if one changes the sense of the *tawriya*-word, since 'closing the eyelids' or 'closing the scabbards' while there is still unrevenged murder, both mean that one gives up seeking retaliation. The case of the line by Buḥturī is almost identical with that of the lines by Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr. It is true that there is an antithesis between *ta'dub* and one of the two senses of *tamluḥ*. But it is hard to decide whether the choice of *ta'dub* was inspired by the poet's wish to make the hearer aware of the double sense of *tamluḥ* or by his intention to use an attribute related in sense to *maliyya bi-l-ḥusn*. Nor does the change of the sense of *tamluḥ* result in any striking change in the interpretation of the line as a whole.¹⁸

In order to make clear what I understand by a context which lends itself to a new interpretation as soon as the hearer takes the *tawriya*-word in a different sense, I should like to end these remarks by quoting the following two lines used by Mehren to illustrate the *tawriya mucarrada*.¹⁹ I have not found these lines in any of the chapters on *tawriya* of

¹⁸ In my opinion this is not the case in the line of Ibn ar-Rabīʿ, as the choice of the word *mafrūd* in the sense of 'duty' in this context is quite unusual and can therefore be explained more easily as an attempt to bring out the double sense of the word *mandūb*. For cases that are even more doubtful than the lines by Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr and Buḥturī, see below, pp. 33 and 102.

¹⁹ I do not mean to say that I agree with Mehren's choice of this example to illustrate the *tawriya mucarrada*. This example does not make the concept of the *tawriya mucarrada* any clearer. Şafadī, for instance, would not have hesitated to consider *maṣṣūr*, 'having rain', as a *lāzim* of *ca'far* in the sense of 'streamlet' and would have pointed out that the existence of the streamlet depends on rainfall, so that the two phenomena are closely connected (see below, p. 94).

the handbooks I have consulted, and it is possible that Mehren selected them by himself:²⁰

إِنِّي مَرَرْتُ عَلَى الْعَقِيقِ وَاهِلِهِ
يَشْكُونُ مِنْ مَطَرِ الرَّبِيعِ نَزُورًا
مَا ضَرَّهُمْ إِذْ جَعَفَرَقْدَ جَازِهِمْ
أَلَّا يَكُونَ رَبِيعُهُمْ مَمْطُورًا

"I went by [the valley of] 'Aqīq while its people were complaining of scarcity of rain in the Rabī'-season/They suffer no harm from this rainless Rabī'-season now that Ca'far (or: a rivulet) has passed them".

The word *ca'far* in the second of these two lines can be taken as a proper name (referring to the Barmecide Ca'far), but also as a substantive meaning 'rivulet'. If one takes the word *ca'far* in this latter sense, one finds that the context is still related to the new sense of *ca'far*, though in a somewhat different way: the drought cannot harm the inhabitants of 'Aqīq, since there is a rivulet that passes through their country providing the water they need. It is easy to see that this example is far superior to the others we have quoted so far, since, on the one hand, the context of the *tawriya*-word makes it possible to take this word in two different senses without the statement becoming an absurdity (as, for instance, in the line by Mas'ūd b. Sa'd), and, on the other hand, the context leaves no doubt as to whether the poet intended the hearer to be aware of the double sense (as in the case of the lines by Yahyā b. Maṣṣūr and Buḥturī).

The following rhetorical figures are often mentioned in connection with the *tawriya* or confused with it:

a. The *istixdām*, i.e., 'making [the word] serve [different purposes]' (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, p. 107). This figure depends on relating a word which has two meanings to two grammatical constructions, each of which brings out a separate meaning. One way to do this is to make the word first the subject of one verb and then (by means of a pronoun) the object of another, each of the two verbs being specifically related to one of its meanings. The Arab critics frequently interpret the follow-

²⁰ Mehren refers to Ibn Xallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), no. 131. According to Ibn Xallikān these two lines were composed by a woman from the Banū Kilāb on the occasion of Ca'far's visit to 'Aqīq. M. M. 'Abdalḥamīd's edition of the *Wafayāt* (Cairo, 1948), I, p. 293, reads *cārun lahum* for *qad cāzahum*.

ing line²¹ by the ancient poet Mu'āwiya b. Mālik as an example of this figure:

إذا نَزَلَ السَّاءُ بِأَرْضِ قَوْمٍ
رَعَيْنَاهُ وَإِنْ كَانُوا غَضَابَا

"When the rain (*samā*) descends on the land of a [foreign] tribe, we make our cattle graze it (*i.e.*, the same *samā*), which now means 'the herbs which come up after rain' even though they may be angry".

The following line by Buḥturī²² follows a slightly different pattern: The word on which the figure depends is first made the object of a verb which is not specifically related to either of the word's two meanings. It is then connected by means of pronouns with a participle and with a verb, each of which brings out a separate meaning:

وَسَقَى الْغَضَا وَالسَّاكِنِيهِ وَإِنْ هُمْ
شَبَّوْهُ بَيْنَ جَوَانِحِي وَضُلُوعِي

"And may it give water to 'the Ġaḍā-thicket' and those who inhabit it (*i.e.*, the locality which is called by this name)²³ even though they kindle it (*i.e.*, the *gaḍā*-wood, which is now taken as a common noun, its slow burning being compared to the fire of love which consumes the poet's heart) between my upper and lower ribs (?)".

In the following line taken from the *Siqt az-Zand* of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri,²⁴ the *istixdām* is effected by connecting the word on which the figure depends first with a verb in the principal and then with the same verb in the relative clause and giving these verbs different subjects, each of which brings out a separate meaning:

وَفَقَّيْهَا أَفْكَارُهُ شِدْنَ لِلنُّعْمَانِ مَا لَمْ يَشِدْهُ شِعْرُ زِيَادٍ

"... And a *faqīh* whose speculations have raised for Nu'mān (*i.e.*, Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān, the founder of the Ḥanafite *maḍhab*) [a monument]

²¹ *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (ed. Lyall), p. 703; Qālī, *Amālī* (Cairo, 1953), I, p. 179; Ibn Rašīq, *Umda* (Cairo, 1325), I, p. 179; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Simt al-La'ālī*, I, p. 448; Baṭalyawsi, *Iqtidāb* (Beirut, 1901), p. 320; 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid* (Cairo, 1274), p. 303; Baḡdādī, *Xizānat al-Adab* (Cairo, 1299), IV, p. 44. Some sources attribute the line to Carīr, *cf.*, *Diwān* (Cairo, 1313), I, p. 31.

²² *Diwān* (Istanbul, 1300), I, p. 113 (*wa-qulūbī* for *wa-qulū'ī*); *idem* (Beirut, 1911), p. 176; 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 307. The exact meanings of the words *cawāniḥ* and *dulū'* in this context are unclear to me.

²³ See Yāqūt, *Mu'cam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), III, p. 804.

²⁴ *Šurūḥ Siqt az-Zand* (Cairo, 1945-1948), III, p. 986; 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 308.

more exalted than the poetry of Ziyād (*i.e.*, the poet Nābiga ad-Dubyānī) has raised [for Nu'mān] (now meaning an-Nu'mān b. al-Mundir, the patron of the poet Nābiga)".

b. The *ibhām*, 'making vague', 'ambiguity', also called *tawcih*, 'giving various tendencies [to one's argument]', *du 'l-wachayn*, 'the two-faced [mode of expression]', and *al-muḥtamil li-'d-ḍiddayn*, '[the mode of expression] which admits of two opposite interpretations' (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–124). This figure depends on using phrases that can be interpreted in two different ways, usually both as a eulogy and as a satire. The different interpretations do not, however, as is the case of the *tawriya*, depend on a single word having various meanings, on homonymy, but on omitting an essential specification, for instance if a statement has only relative force, or if a word has to be interpreted as a metaphor. To illustrate this figure the critics often quote a line by Baššār b. Burd which this poet composed for a one-eyed tailor by the name of 'Amr. The tailor had promised Baššār to make for him a *qabā*' which could not be distinguished from a *duwāc*,²⁵ Baššār in his turn promising the tailor to compose for him a line which could be interpreted both as a blessing and as a curse:

خاط لي عمرو قباء * ليت عينيه سواء

"'Amr has made for me a *qabā*'. Would that his two eyes were alike!"²⁶

They also frequently quote two lines²⁷ addressed to Ḥasan b. Sahl and the caliph Ma'mūn on the occasion of the marriage of Ma'mūn to Ḥasan's daughter, Būrān, in 210. The poet is Muḥammad b. Ḥākim al-Bāhili:

بارك الله للحسن * ولبُوران في الختن
يا إمام الهدى ظفیر * ت ولكن بينت من

"May God bless Ḥasan and Būrān in the relation they acquired through marriage! O guide on the path of righteousness, thou hast won her, but whose daughter is she?"

These two examples can be explained in a pleasing as well as in a derogatory sense. The ambiguity is due to something having been pur-

²⁵ Var. *durrā'a*. For a description of the two types of garments mentioned in this anecdote, see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements arabes*, s.vv.

²⁶ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd* (Cairo, 1946), V, pp. 386–387; Curcānī, *al-Muntaxab min Kināyāt al-Udabā*, p. 70 (attributed to Salm al-Xāsir); 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 403.

²⁷ Curcānī, *Muntaxab*, p. 71 (attributed to Abu 't-Tubba' (?) al-Qāsim b. Ṭarxān); 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 403.

posely omitted by the poet. For we have only to add, for instance, *fi 'r-rif'a*, 'in nobility', after *bi-binti man*, 'whose daughter?', to solve the ambiguity. Similarly, if Baššār had added, for instance, *fi 's-ṣiḥḥa*, 'in health', after *sawā*, 'alike', there could be no doubt that the line was intended as a blessing. We shall see that Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba' admits a type of *ibhām* based on leaving unspecified whether a word has to be taken in a literal or in a metaphorical sense.

Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī gives the name *tawcīh* to a figure which depends on using a sequence of substantives or adjectives that have both a common and a technical sense, or are used both as common nouns and as proper names. The fact that the hearer finds a number of such words combined in the same sentence makes him believe for a moment that these words are used as technical terms or as proper names (as the case may be), though they are meant in their common, non-technical sense, *i.e.* as common nouns. Mehren quotes the following example:²⁸

وَبَقَلْبِي مِنَ الْهُمُومِ مَدِيدٌ * وَبَسِيطٌ وَوَافِرٌ وَطَوِيلٌ
لَمْ أَكُنْ عَالِمًا بِذَلِكَ إِلَى أَنْ * قَطَعَ الْقَلْبَ بِالْفِرَاقِ الْخَلِيلُ

"In my heart are sorrows, some protracted, some wide, some abundant, some long. I had no experience of this before my friend rent my heart by abandoning me."

In the first line the words *madīd*, *basīṭ*, *wāfir*, and *ṭawīl*, which I have translated as 'protracted', 'wide', 'abundant', and 'long', are frequently used as names of various prosodic meters. The word *qaṭṭa'a*, which I translated by 'rent', also means 'he scanned [the verse]'. There is a further word-play in the word *xalīl*. For although in this context it can mean only 'the friend', those acquainted with the theory of Arabic prosody will immediately realize that it is also the name of the founder of the Arab metrical system, Xalīl b. Aḥmad.

From what we have seen earlier it will be clear that Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī's *tawcīh* is strictly speaking only a form of the *tawriya muhayya'a*, the only difference being that the *tawcīh* is limited to words that are used in a technical sense and has to depend on the use of more than one homonym. It should also be noted that Ṣafiyyaddīn implicitly limits the *tawcīh* to homonyms that appear in a context where they cannot possibly be accepted in more than one sense. We shall see that some

²⁸ 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 410 (*al-cafā'i* for *al-humūmi*; according to 'Abbāsī the poet is one Naṣrallāh b. al-Faqīh); al-Bakrācī, *Ḥilyat al-'Iqd al-Badī'* (Ḥalab, 1293), p. 110

Arab critics quote examples of the *tawriya* that correspond exactly to the definition of Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī's *tawcīh*.

c. The *tawhīm*, 'making somebody imagine' (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–178). This figure depends on the use of a context which suggests that a certain word has been mistranscribed or that a certain grammatical construction is incorrect. It may also depend on the context suggesting at first sight that a certain word contains a *tawriya* or is part of an antithesis or some other rhetorical figure. The following line by al-Mutanabbī²⁹ is often quoted as an example of an apparent copyist's error:

وإنَّ الفِئامَ التي حوله * لتَحْسُدُ أَرْجُلَهَا الأَرُوسُ

"He is surrounded by large companies of men whose heads envy the feet" (because the feet have the privilege of standing in attendance).

The word *arcul*, 'feet', in the second hemistich, suggests, according to the Arab critics, that the second word in the first hemistich has been wrongly spelt and that we should read *al-qiyām*, 'those standing', instead of *al-fi'ām*, 'companies of men'. Careful examination, however, reveals that the reading *al-fi'ām* is equally acceptable. The Arab critics apparently assume that the poet has purposely created this suggestion.

The following line occurs in the *Badī'iyya* of Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī (Cairo, 1317, p. 43) to illustrate the *tawhīm at-tawriya*,³⁰ 'making somebody believe in the existence of a *tawriya*', or 'false *tawriya*'. It was purposely invented to illustrate this type of *tawhīm*:

حتى إذا صَدَرُوا والخيل صائِمة * من بعد ما صَلَّتْ الأسياف في القِيَمِ

"... Till, finally, they journeyed away, their horses still fasting, after the swords had made a clashing sound among (*i.e.*, in striking) the heads [of the warriors]".³¹

In this line the word *ṣā'ima*, 'fasting', being commonly used as a term connected with religious practice, induces the reader to believe that the poet intends the word *ṣallat*, 'made a clashing sound', to have a second meaning derived from the verb *ṣallā*, 'to perform the ritual

²⁹ *Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici (with the commentary of Wāḥidī), p. 741 (var.: *aqdāmahā*); *idem*, with the commentary of 'Ukbarī (Cairo, 1355/1936), II, p. 206; *idem*, with the commentary of Yāzici (Beirut, 1882), p. 578; *idem*, ed. 'Abdalwahhāb 'Azzām, p. 55.

³⁰ So Mehren; Ḥillī calls the example a *tawhīm al-iṣtirāk*; see also Ibn Ḥicca, *Xizāna* (Cairo, 1301), p. 392, l. 22ff.

³¹ Or perhaps: "among the [iron-clad] bodies [of the warriors]".

prayer'. As, however, the word *ṣallat*, if interpreted through this etymology, makes no sense whatsoever, we can only say that the poet "made the hearer believe" that there is a *tawriya* in this line.

We shall come across one more example of the *tawhīm at-tawriya* in the *Kitāb Taḥrīr at-Taḥbīr* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba'. But whereas in the case of the line by Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī the word-play is based on suggesting that the hearer accept a second etymology of the word *ṣallat*, an etymology which in itself is perfectly justified, we shall see that in the case of the line quoted by Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba' the reader is led to believe that a certain word has a second meaning for which there is no etymological support.

Neither Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba' nor Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī gives a satisfactory explanation of the difference between the *tawhīm at-tawriya* and the ordinary *tawriya*. A difference would, of course, exist only if the term *tawriya* were limited strictly to examples like the eulogy of Ca'far al-Barmakī, where the *tawriya*-word appears in a context which allows two meanings, and did not include examples such as the lines by Ibn ar-Rabī', where the context does not allow more than one meaning.³²

³² See the note on my translation of this example, above, p. 14.

2. EARLY SOURCES DEALING WITH THE TAWRIYA

Having dealt briefly with the most essential points in the theories of the post-classical Arab critics concerning the *tawriya* and with some of the difficulties these theories may present to a modern reader, I shall now try to outline the historical development that led to the establishment of these theories and examine more closely some of the definitions of the *tawriya* given by early Arab and Persian literary theorists. In doing this I am aware of the fact that I cannot cover all the existing material, since some of the most important sources were inaccessible to me (or accessible for a limited time only), and, moreover, information on the *tawriya* is found not only in the handbooks on literary theory, but also in a variety of other sources, such as commentaries on *dīwāns*, works on grammar and lexicography, and even works on theology. Information contained in these secondary sources cannot always be easily traced. A complete survey of all the sources is therefore hardly possible, and should not be undertaken for the sake of the *tawriya* alone, since this figure, after all, does not occupy a position in Arab literary theory comparable to that of, for instance, the simile (*tašbīh*) or the metaphor (*isti'āra*).

If we were to believe Ibn Ḥicca al-Ḥamawī (d. 837), we would have to consider Zamaxšarī (d. 538) among the earliest authorities using the term *tawriya* in the sense in which we have defined it in the preceding section. I believe, however, that only part of the passage Ibn Ḥicca attributes to Zamaxšarī is authentic. This passage occurs in Ibn Ḥicca's *Xizānat al-Adab*¹ and again in a monograph by the name of *Kašf al-Liṭām 'an at-Tawriya wa-'l-Istixdām* by the same author.² It runs as follows (I follow the text of the *Kašf al-Liṭām*): "Zamaxšarī, who is an

¹ Cairo, 1304, p. 240.

² Beirut, 1312, p. 11. The passage is also found in Suyūṭī's *Šarḥ 'Uqūd al-Cumān*, p. 115.

authority in this science, says: '... and among the various ways of expressing oneself we do not find one more refined and more subtle than this', meaning the *tawriya*, 'and more useful and helpful if one undertakes to explain the dubious passages in the word of God—exalted is He (*al-muštābihāti min kalāmi 'llāhi ta'ālā*)—his Prophet—may God bless him—, and the words of the Companions—may God be pleased with them. One of these [dubious passages] is the word of the Exalted One: *ar-Raḥmānu 'ala 'l-'arši 'stawā* ("the Merciful has seated Himself firmly on His throne", Koran XX, 4), since *istawā* has two meanings. The first is: "finding a fixed abode in a certain place", this being the nearer meaning by which one conceals [the other meaning], and which is not intended. For the Exalted, the Holy—praise be on Him—is above this (*i.e.*, doing any of the acts common to human beings). The second is: "gaining mastery, dominating", this being the farther meaning which is intended, and which is concealed by the above-mentioned nearer meaning'. End of the quotation".

The first half of this passage up to the words, "the dubious passages in the word of God", was undoubtedly taken from Zamaxšari's *Kaššāf*. We do not find it, however, in the commentary on Koran XX, 4, where we should expect it,³ but in the commentary on Koran XXXIX, 67: *wa-mā qadaru 'llāha ḥaqqā qadrihī wa-'l-arḍu camī'an qabḍatuhū yawma 'l-qiyāmati wa-'s-samawātu maṭwiyyātun bi-yamīnihī* ("and they do not esteem God as He ought to be esteemed when He grips the whole earth on the Day of Resurrection and the heavens are folded in His right hand"), where we read the following (I have translated only the first and last lines of the passage, which is found in vol. II, pp. 305–306 of the 1345 Cairo edition): "The purpose of these words, if one takes them as they are in their totality and as a whole, is to give visible form to His greatness and to make people acquainted with the essence of His glory, nothing else... The hearer will not be brought to understand this (*i.e.*, God's great deeds which perplex his mind) unless the mode of expression follows this path which consists of setting his imagination to work (*taxyīl*).⁴ And in the theory of rhetoric one does not find a mode of expression more refined, more delicate, and more subtle than this, and more useful and helpful when one undertakes to explain the dubious passages (*al-muštābihāt*) in the word of God—exalted is He—in the Koran, the other heavenly books, and in the words of His prophets, since the greater and more important part of it consists of phan-

⁴ *Kaššāf* (Cairo, 1345), II, p. 20.

³ Goldziher, *Richtungen*, pp. 133–135, 146, translates *taxyīl* by 'Phantasieausdruck'.

tastic images (*taxyīlāt*) on which the feet used to slip in former times. And those who slipped did so because they cared little for research and careful investigation."

It is not difficult to see that Zamaxšarī's interpretation of Koran XXXIX, 67 has nothing to do with the *tawriya*. Nor is it likely that this sensitive and gifted scholar could ever have taken the word *istawā* in Koran XX, 4 for a *tawriya*. For it could hardly have escaped him that the expression, "The Merciful has seated Himself firmly on His Throne", is a "phantastic image", a parable, not a word-play based on a single word in the sentence having a double meaning. We have therefore to assume that the source from which Ibn Ḥicca drew his material confused the terms *taxyīl* and *tawriya* and added Zamaxšarī's eulogy of the *taxyīl* to his own definition of the *tawriya* without making clear where the quotation ended. We have to assume also that he substituted the example from Koran XX, 4 for the example from Koran XXXIX, 67. This might seem a somewhat forced explanation, yet I think it is acceptable. For with regard to the confusion of the terms *taxyīl* and *tawriya* we have the testimony of Šafadī, who expressly warns against such a confusion. Moreover we find that Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578) mentions the two terms as synonymous, (see below p. 31), and Nuwayrī (d. 732) in his *Nihāyat al-Arab* (vol. VII, p. 131-132) states that although some scholars use the terms *taxyīl*, *tawriya* and *ihām* synonymously, others, and among them Zamaxšarī, define the term *taxyīl* as "giving visible form to the essential quality of a thing to express its greatness". I think it possible, therefore, that some scholar who was not acquainted with Zamaxšarī's special terminology mistook his discussion of the *taxyīl* for a discussion of the *tawriya*. The change of the examples can, I think, also be explained. For we find Faxraddīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606)⁵ in his *Nihāyat al-Īcāz*⁶ quoting Koran XXXIX, 67 as an example of the *ihām*⁷ (= *tawriya*), and Sakkākī (d. 626)⁸ in his *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*⁹ quoting both Koran XXXIX, 67 and Koran XX, 4. Neither of them mentions the name of Zamaxšarī. I nevertheless think it possible that the passages in the *Nihāyat al-Īcāz* and the *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm* ultimately go back to this author, since both contain the words *wa-akṭaru ʿl-mutašābihāti min hāda ʿl-cins (min hāda ʿl-qabīl)* in which at least the term *al-mutašābihāt*

⁵ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 508, S I, p. 924.

⁶ Cairo, 1317, p. 113.

⁷ The printed text has *ibhām*, but Šafadī, quoting Faxraddīn, reads *ihām*, see below, p. 75.

⁸ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 294, S I, p. 515.

⁹ Cairo, 1317, p. 226.

reminds one of Zamaxšārī. If this is true, the passages in Ibn Ḥicca's *Xizāna*, Faxraddīn's *Nihāya*, and Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ* would all go back to the same source, and something like the following must have happened: The author of this unknown source, having borrowed from Zamaxšārī both his discussion of the *taxyīl* and the example from Koran XXXIX, 67, and wishing to complete his chapter with some more examples of the same character, added Koran XX, 4 and perhaps some others. Later authors using the source (among whom there must have been some who confused the terms *taxyīl* and *tawriya*) felt no obligation to give preference to Zamaxšārī's example but chose at random among the examples the source offered.¹⁰ On the other hand it should be noted that the confusion was not universal. For in a passage quoted from Badraddīn b. an-Naḥwiyya (d. 718)¹¹ in Šafadī's *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*,¹² which is linked with the *Nihāya* and the *Miftāḥ* (and, consequently, probably also with Zamaxšārī's *Kaššāf*) by the words *wa-akṭaru 'l-āyāt al-mutašā-biha min hāḍa 'l-qabīl*¹³ and by the example from Koran XXXIX, 67 (Badraddīn quotes a second example from Koran XXXVII, 63, *cf.*, *Kaššāf* II, p. 264), we find that the term *taxyīl* is used in its correct sense. Badraddīn must therefore have had a source at his disposal in which anthropomorphic expressions in the Koran were still called by the term *taxyīl*.

From the fact that Ibn Ḥicca's attribution of a definition of the *tawriya* to Zamaxšārī has proved to be wrong in this particular case we may not, of course, conclude that Zamaxšārī did not know the figure. It is, in fact, quite possible that he did, as he was well acquainted with the *ḍū wachayn* (= *tawcīh*), a figure which, as we have seen in the introductory section, is more or less related to the *tawriya*.¹⁴ We have to

¹⁰ Other explanations are of course possible. One might, for instance, assume that the unknown source on the *taxyīl* in which the Koranic examples were combined and which subsequently became a subject of misinterpretation was composed by Zamaxšārī himself. I have no evidence that the system of explaining anthropomorphic passages in the Koran as *tawriyas* ever became popular outside the circle of literary theorists, except for a curious passage in Taftāzānī's *aš-Šarḥ al-Muṭawwal 'alā Talxiš al-Miftāḥ* (see below, p. 89), where this author asserts that this system was used by the *ahl az-zāhir* (Zāhirites?) among the commentators.

¹¹ See Ibn Ḥacar al-ʿAsqalānī, *ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, IV, pp. 285–286; Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-Wuʿāt*, p. 117.

¹² See below, pp. 78–79.

¹³ It is not quite clear, however, whether these words still belong to the quotation, see below, p. 79, note 34.

¹⁴ This appears from Zamaxšārī's commentary on Koran IV, 48 (*Kaššāf*, I, p. 207): *mina 'lladīna hādū yuḥarriḥūna 'l-kalima 'an mawāḍi'ihi wa-yaqūlūna sami'nā wa 'aṣaynā wa-'sma' ḡayra muṣma'in wa-rā'inā*, etc., "Some of those who are Jews change

assume in any case that both the term and the definition were invented during his lifetime or shortly after his death. For we find them in the *Kitāb al-Badī'* of Usāma b. Munqid (d. 584),¹⁵ a work which, according to the author's own statement,¹⁶ deals only with subjects that had previously been discussed by others. As Usāma outlived Zamaxšarī by only twenty-six years, Zamaxšarī must have been acquainted with most of the figures of speech mentioned by his younger contemporary. Usāma's chapter on the *tawriya* is the oldest I have as yet been able to find, and I will therefore translate the definition and most of the examples:

"Know that the *tawriya* depends on the fact that a word (*kalima*) has two meanings and that one intends one of these meanings and conceals it by the other, as for instance in the following saying by a certain poet:

خَيْلٌ صِيَامٌ وَخَيْلٌ غَيْرُ صَائِمَةٍ
تَحْتَ الْعَجَاجِ وَأُخْرَى تَعْلُكُ اللَّجُجِ

'Horses standing and others not standing under [the clouds of] dust, and still others chewing their bits'. By *ṣiyām* the poet here means 'standing', but he conceals it by *ta'luḡu 'l-lucumā*,¹⁷ 'chewing their bits' (which rather suggests taking *ṣiyām* in the sense of 'fasting'); and Buḥturī has said:

the proper meanings of words and say: 'We hear and disobey', and 'Hear as one who does not hear', and 'Observe us', to which Zamaxšarī explains that *ḡayra musma'in* may be interpreted as an imprecation meaning: "without being made to hear" (i.e., because he is deaf or because he is not allowed to hear an answer that is agreeable to him), or as a blessing meaning: "without being made to hear an unpleasant answer". Similarly, he says, *rā'inā* can be interpreted as an imperative of the third form of the root *r-ʿ-y*, meaning: 'Observe us', an expression by means of which the Muslims in Medina used to call the attention of the Prophet to themselves, but which could also be taken as an insult if pronounced in a slightly different way, *rā'ina*, thereby becoming a Hebrew or Syriac term of abuse (see Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris, 1950, III, pp. 757 and 938-939). Zamaxšarī calls the play on the words *ḡayra musma'in* and *rā'inā* a *qawl dū wachayn* (= *tawcih*). As far as the play on the words *ḡayra musma'in* is concerned, the classical literary theorists would have used the same term, *qawl dū wachayn*, or one of its synonyms. Šafadī would probably have called the word *rā'inā* an *iḥām at-tawriya* or 'false *tawriya*'; see below, p. 95.

¹⁵ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 316, S I, p. 552

¹⁶ See p. 8 of the recent edition by A. A. Badawī and Ḥ. 'Abdalmacīd (Cairo, 1960). The chapter on the *tawriya* is found on pp. 60-61.

¹⁷ The text has *ta'ruḡu*, but I prefer the reading *ta'luḡu* of the MS Leiden Or. 848, fol. 13b. This MS contains an abridged version of the *Kitāb al-Badī'*. The line is attributed to Nābiḡa aḡ-Ḍubayānī; see, *Lisān al-'Arab* and *Tāc al-'Arūs*, s.v., 'l-k.

ووراء تَسْنَدِيَّةِ الْوُشَاةِ مَكِّيَّةِ
بِالْحَسَنِ تَمْلُحُ فِي الْقُلُوبِ وَتَعْدُبُ

'Behind the art of the embroiderers (the veil) there is one (a girl) rich in beauty who is pleasing and sweet in the hearts [of men]', meaning 'pleasing', not 'bitter'. But he conceals this by *ta'dub* ('is sweet', which rather suggests taking *tamluḥ* in the sense of 'is bitter')."

Next Usāma quotes two examples of plays on the word *cawhar* in the double sense of 'jewel' and 'essence', and the chapter ends as follows: "[Says aš-Šarīf] ar-Raḍī:¹⁸

وَمَا لَطَمُوا عَنْ غَايَةِ الْمَجْدِ جَبْهَتِي
بَلَى خَلَعُوا عَنِّي لِأَذْرِكَهَا عُذْرِي

'They did not strike my forehead to keep me from [attaining] the utmost of glory. No! What they did was to take away from me every pretext for not attaining it (or: the straps of my bridle, so that I could attain it)'. By *'uḍr*, which is meant as a plural of *'idār* ('cheek-strap of a bridle'), he conceals *'uḍr* in the sense of *i'tidār* ('seeking an excuse')".

Neither Usāma's definition nor his explanation of the examples is completely clear since (a) it is not certain whether *kalima* has to be understood in the sense of 'word' or in the sense of 'passage', and (b) in Usāma's commentary to the first two examples the object of *warrā* ('to conceal') is a quotation of part of the context of the *tawriya* word, though in his commentary to the last example it is the *tawriya* word itself. It is impossible, therefore, to draw from this chapter any conclusions on what Usāma considered to be the function of the context, except that he was aware of the importance of this context. Moreover, we may doubt whether the word-play was purposely sought by the poet, not only in the case of the line by Buḥturī (which I have discussed earlier), but also in the case of the first example quoted in Usāma's chapter. To judge from the choice of his examples it seems certain, however, that Usāma expected the context to make neither of the two meanings appear as wholly absurd. This impression is, I think, supported by a passage in the chapter on the *tawhīm* in the same *Kitāb al-Baḍī'*,¹⁹ where he quotes an example similar to those he has quoted earlier in the chapter on the *tawriya*, except that in the case of this last example the homonym cannot possibly be taken in more than one sense (unless explained as a

¹⁸ *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1307), I, p. 390 (*li-idrākiḥā* for *li-udriḥā*).

¹⁹ P. 87.

metaphor). Usāma adds that in the case of this example of the *tawhīm* the context "wrongly suggests" (*yuwahhim*) taking the word in a different sense. If, therefore, I am correct in assuming that Usāma considers this example of the *tawhīm* to be different from his examples of the *tawriya* (his work is full of inconsistencies so that this is by no means certain), we may conclude that in the case of the *tawriya* the context should allow both senses.

In addition to chapters on the *tawriya* and the *tawhīm*, the *Kitāb al-Badī'* contains a chapter on the *istixdām*.²⁰ This chapter is, so far, the oldest I have found on the subject. It does not call for particular comment, since the definition corresponds essentially to the one found in the post-classical handbooks. Usāma quotes five examples, three of which are of frequent occurrence and have been mentioned in the Introduction to this book. The fourth, a line by Abū Tammām,²¹ is as far as I know not quoted elsewhere as an example of the *istixdām*. Since, moreover, examples of the figure from older poets are considered by the critics to be exceedingly rare, I reproduce it here:

وإذا مشّت تَرَكْتُ بِصَدْرِكَ ضِعْفَ مَا
يَحْلِيهِنَّ مِنْ كَثَرَةِ الْوَسْوَاسِ

"And when she walks she leaves in thy bosom twice as much of *waswās* as one hears in her ornaments" (*waswās* having the double sense of 'confusion', 'temptation', which the poet connects with 'bosom', and 'jingling', which he connects with 'ornaments').

The fifth is an anonymous example, and is also, as far as I know, not quoted in any other work on literary theory:

اسم من مَلَّنِي وَمِنْ صَدْرِي عَنِّي
وَجَفَانِي مِنْ غَيْرِ ذَنْبٍ وَجُرْمٍ
وَالَّذِي ضَنْنٌ بِالْوَصَالِ عَلَيْنَا
مِثْلَ مَا ضَنْنٌ بِالْهَوَى قَلْبُ نَعْمٍ

Usāma explains the *istixdām* in these two lines as follows: *Qalbu Nu'mī*, being in the nominative case, can be taken both as the predicate of a nominal sentence and as the agent of the verb *ḡanna*, 'to be niggardly' (he apparently means to say that *qalbu Nu'mī* becomes the agent of

²⁰ See pp. 82-83.

²¹ *Diwān*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abduh 'Azzām (Cairo, n.d.), II, p. 245.

the verb *ḡanna* through the relative pronoun *allaḡī* in the second line). This example, therefore, shows a syntactical *istixdām*. In addition to this there is an *istixdām* of sense, since *qalb* means both 'heart' and 'inversion', i.e., the inversion of the letters *n-ʿ-m*, *m-ʿ-n* (which, if one leaves the order of the vowels unchanged, results in *muʿnī*, 'one who afflicts [us] with sorrow').²² If my interpretation of the somewhat obscure passage is correct, we should probably translate the two lines as follows:

"The name of the one who has become tired of me, has turned away from me, and has treated me harshly without there being any sin or crime on my part is the heart of Nuʿm. And one who is equally niggardly toward us of [the favor of] union and of love is [the word] *nuʿm* inverted".

The earliest instance I know of the term *ihām* being used as a synonym of *tawriya* occurs in the *Ḥadāʾiq as-Sihr fī Daqāʾiq aš-Šiʿr*²³ of Rašīd-addīn Waṭwāt (d. 578).²⁴ This work, though written in Persian, quotes examples both in Persian and in Arabic and is therefore of particular interest. It contains a chapter on the *ihām* in which this term is defined as follows: "In Persian, *ihām* means 'to throw into doubt'. One also calls this artifice *taxyīl*. It consists of the writer or the poet using in his prose or poetry words that have a double meaning, one obvious (*qarīb*) and the other not obvious (*baʿīd*). When the hearer hears these words his mind turns immediately to the obvious meaning, though what is meant by the word in question is this not-obvious meaning".

It is clear that this definition is not very strict. It does not specify by what means this "not-obvious meaning" should be called to the mind of the hearer. Nor does it state in any way that the "not-obvious mean-

²² I follow the text as it appears in the Leiden MS (fol. 35b):

هذا استخدام في الاعراب لان قلب مرفوع / بنجر الابتداء وبفاعل ضم
وهو استخدام في / المعنى لانه قلب يريد احد (اخذ MS) القلوب
ومعنى العكس لان قلب نعم معن (مغن MS) وهو المراد هاهنا

In the Cairo edition the last sentence reads as follows:

وهو ايضا استخدام في المعنى لان معنى قلب من القلوب ومعنى العكس
لان الاسم معن

²³ Ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, pp. 39-42.

²⁴ See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, pp. 330-333.

ing" should make sense in the context. It therefore seems to leave room for the most subtle type of word-play represented by the eulogy of Ca'far al-Barmakī as well as for the type represented by Šafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī's *tawcih*, in which the hearer is reminded of the double meaning of a sequence of homonyms only through their juxtaposition. That this is indeed the case clearly appears from the first example, a passage from Ḥarīrī's *Maqāma Baġdādiyya*.²⁵ I quote the beginning of this passage: *Lam yazal ahli wa-ba'li yaḥullūna 'ṣ-ṣadra wa-yasīrūna 'l-qalba wa-yumṭūna 'z-zahra...* "My family and my husband did not cease alighting at the foremost place (*ṣadr*) [in the assembly], and travelling in the center (*qalb*) [of the army], and giving others mounts (*zahr*) to ride...". Rašīdaddīn correctly explains that the juxtaposition of the words *ṣadr*, *qalb*, *zahr*, etc. in this passage makes the hearer believe for a moment that these words are used in their more common significations as names of various parts of the body, *i.e.*, 'breast', 'heart', 'back', etc., though they are not intended in these senses. He does not, however, call attention to the fact that, if one were to interpret the passage in accordance with these more common meanings, it would no longer be understandable, and that, consequently, there is a difference between this passage from Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and the Persian anecdote which immediately follows it. This anecdote relates how Avicenna was sitting in the bazaar one day and wanted to buy a lamb on credit from a passer-by. The passer-by, who knew who his client was, refused to hand over the lamb before Avicenna had paid for it and replied: "You are a learned scientist. How is it possible that you do not know that the *barreh* ('the lamb' or 'the sign Aries') always faces the *tarāzū* ('the balance' or 'the sign Libra')? Unless you weigh out this lamb (*i.e.*, weigh out the money you owe me for it) you will not carry this lamb home". In this example the sentence which forms the context for the words *barreh* and *tarāzū* easily admits two interpretations of each of these two words, although one needs to be acquainted with the anecdote as a whole in order to realize that these double interpretations are purposely sought.

The two examples we have quoted are followed by examples from poetry, four in Arabic and three in Persian. The first of the Arabic examples is taken from the *Siqt az-Zand* of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī,²⁶ and runs as follows:

²⁵ See, *Les séances de Hariri*, publ. par Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1822), pp. 127–128; *idem* (Paris, 1847), pp. 146–147.

²⁶ See, *Šurūḥ Siqt az-Zand* (Cairo, 1945–1948), III .p. 1262.

إِذَا صَدَقَ الْجَدُّ أَفْتَرَى الْعَمُّ لِلْفَتَى
مَكَارِمَ لَا تُكْرَى وَإِنْ كَذَبَ الْحَالُ

The correct translation is: "If good fortune (*cadd*) is steadfast, then a man's company (*'amm*) will attribute to him noble deeds which do not decrease,²⁷ even though he may be like clouds (*xāl*) which fail to give the promised rain". However, the combination of the words *cadd*, *'amm*, and *xāl* which, as Rašīdaddīn points out, are commonly used as names for a man's relatives, *i.e.*, 'grandfather', 'paternal uncle', 'maternal uncle', makes one believe at first sight that the translation should be: "If the grandfather speaks the truth", etc. But this translation would hardly make more sense than the translation of the words *ṣadr*, *qalb*, *zahr*, etc. as names of parts of the body in the example from the *Maqāmāt*. We will see, though, that the Ma'arri example is sometimes quoted to illustrate the *tawriya* in later handbooks of literary theory. There follows a second example from Arabic poetry, two lines which Rašīdaddīn quotes without mentioning the name of the poet. In a number of other sources,²⁸ however, these lines are attributed to Camīl, which means that they are likely to be of a comparatively early date:

رَمَتْنِي بِسَهْمٍ رِيشُهُ الْكُحْلُ لَمْ يَضُرْ
ظَوَاهِرَ جُلْدِي وَهُوَ فِي الْقَلْبِ جَارِحِي
رَمَى اللَّهُ فِي عَيْنِي بُشَيْنَةً بِالْقَدَى
وَفِي الْغُرِّ مِنْ أَنْيَابِهَا بِالْقَوَادِحِ

Rašīdaddīn explains that the words *'ayn*, *anyāb*, and *qawādiḥ* in the second of these two lines do not have their ordinary meanings which are related to various parts of the body, but mean "something else". By this Rašīdaddīn apparently intends to say that the correct translation of the two lines should be something like the following:

²⁷ Or perhaps: "noble qualities that are not slow in fulfilling people's desires".

²⁸ *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1352), p. 18 (*cf.*, *RSO*, XXVII, p. 67, and XXVIII, p. 177); Ibn Dāwūd, *Zahra*, p. 9; second line only: Abu 'l-Farac al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* (Cairo, 1345), VIII, p. 104; al-Qālī, *Amālī* (Cairo, 1344), II, p. 109; Marzubānī, *Muwaṣṣaḥ*, p. 199; Ibn Cinnī, *Ḥaṣā'is* (Cairo, 1371-1376), II, p. 122; Murtaḍā, *Amālī* (Cairo, 1954), II, p. 157; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-La'ālī*, II, p. 736; Sarrāc, *Maṣāri' al-'Uṣṣāq* (Beirut, 1958), I, p. 101; Baḡdādī, *Xizānat al-Adab* (Cairo, 1299), II, pp. 379-380, III, pp. 93-94; *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *Lisān al-'Arab*, *Tāc al-'Arūs*, *s.v.*, *n-y-b*. The two lines are also attributed to Kuṭayyir; see Ḥarīrī, *Les séances* (Paris, 1822), p. 7; *idem* (Paris, 1847), p. 8.

"She shot an arrow at me, the feathers of which were collyrium, and which did not hurt the surface of my skin, though they wounded me in my heart / May God throw dust into the eyes of [the spy who is watching] Buṭayna and afflict the most excellent of the chiefs of her tribe with slanderers (?)", though the more obvious translation of the second line would be: "May God throw dust in the eyes of Buṭayna and afflict her white canine teeth with canker-worm". Needless to say, the explanation proposed by Rašīdaddīn is utterly unacceptable. It leaves the second line without any logical connection with the first and, moreover, requires a rather unusual interpretation of the word *qawādīḥ*. It clearly shows an attempt to explain away an abusive expression which was considered to be unworthy of a poet who was famous for his unselfishness and the sincerity of his feelings.²⁹

The third of the examples taken from Arabic poetry is a line attributed by Rašīdaddīn to the famous Mas'ūd b. Sa'd. I have already quoted this line in the Introduction and therefore need not repeat it here. I will also omit the fourth and last of the Arabic examples and the two first examples from Persian poetry, since, in my opinion, they do not contribute to our understanding of Rašīdaddīn's concept of the *ihām*. The third of the examples from Persian poetry, which ends the chapter, is of some interest. It is by a certain Anbārī,³⁰ a contemporary of Rašīdaddīn, and is framed in an anecdote in which Rašīdaddīn himself figures. This anecdote runs as follows: "At a certain time I was in Tirmīd. The poet Anbārī used to be continually with me and to show me his compositions (*gufthā*), asking me to give my opinion as to whether they were good or bad. On a certain day he was sitting in the bazaar and a cook's apprentice came by. He was pleased to see the boy and composed the following line about him:

آن کودک طباخ بر آن چندان نان
ما را بلبی همی ندارد مہمان

"This cook's apprentice, in spite of so much bread, does not treat us to a single *lab*', (i.e., 'morsel of bread' or 'kiss of his lips'). Presently he

²⁹ Some critics hold that even if one takes the words *anyāb* and *qawādīḥ* as meaning respectively 'canine teeth' and 'canker-worm', the second line may be interpreted as a blessing. They point out that the poet, by wishing his beloved to have canker-worm in her teeth, is obviously hoping that she will reach the age when this is most likely to happen, i.e., he wishes her a long life.

³⁰ Probably identical with a person of this name mentioned by Dawlatšāh, *Tadhkira* (ed. Browne), p. 98.

quoted it to me and asked the name of the artifice (*i.e.*, the figure of speech contained in this line) with which I thereupon acquainted him. The purpose of mentioning the word *lab* is that when one hears it one thinks that he hopes for a *lab* ('morsel') of bread, though what he means is the *lab* ('lip') of the child itself. Anbārī has frequently composed things of this kind as a result of his natural gift, not through learning". This anecdote leaves the impression that theoretical discussions of the figure which is the subject of this study were rather rare in the time of Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāṭ. If not, Anbārī would probably have known the name of the figure, the more so as he was, according to Rašīdaddīn, one of those who used it frequently in their poems. The example itself shows the characteristics of many of the examples quoted by the Arab and Persian literary theorists in that the context reminds the reader of the fact that a certain word has more than one meaning, although the same context makes good sense with only one of them.

To complete the picture of Rašīdaddīn's concept of the figure which is the subject of this book we have to deal with yet another of the figures discussed in the *Ḥadā'iq as-Sihr*. This figure is called *al-muḥtamil li-'q-ḍiddayn* and is discussed on pp. 36-37. It is defined as follows: "This figure is also called *ḍu 'l-wachayn*. It consists of the poet composing a line which has two meanings, one [fitting] eulogy, and the other [fitting] satire". If one compares this definition to Rašīdaddīn's definition of the *ihām*, one notices that whereas in the case of the *ihām* he makes the double interpretation of a sentence depend on a single word in the sentence having two different meanings, in the case of *al-muḥtamil li-'q-ḍiddayn* he makes the double interpretation depend on different meanings of the sentence as a whole. This, and the fact that he mentions the term *ḍu 'l-wachayn* as synonymous with *al-muḥtamil li-'q-ḍiddayn*, suggests that we have to do with the figure which the classical literary theorists (with the exception of Ṣafīyyaddīn al-Ḥillī) would have called *ibhām* or *tawcīh* and which I have discussed in the introductory section of this book. We find this impression confirmed by the first three examples, one of which, the line by Baššār beginning with *xāṭa lī 'Amrun qabā* ..., has already been quoted in the Introduction. The second and the third examples, both Persian, depend simply on the context being such that the subject-predicate relation of two words can be inverted. I quote the third example:

ای خواجه ضیا شود زروی تو ظلم
با طلعت تو سور نماید ماتم

“O lord, thy face turns darkness into light (or: light into darkness). Through thy countenance mourning becomes a feast (or: a feast becomes mourning)”.

The fourth and last example, however, seems to depend on a single word in the sentence having two different meanings and should therefore, according to the standards set by the post-classical handbooks and Rašīdaddīn's own definition, be considered a *tawriya*. It runs as follows (the name of the poet is not mentioned):

روسپی را محتسب داند زدن
شاد باش ای روسپی زن محتسب

Rašīdaddīn offers no explanation as to how this line should be interpreted, but I think there can be no doubt that it contains a play on the word *zan*, which is both the present stem of the verb *zadan*, ‘to beat’, and a common substantive meaning ‘woman’. The translation is: “The bailiff knows how to beat the whore. Rejoice, O whore-beating bailiff! (or: rejoice, O bailiff whose wife is a whore, *i.e.*, cuckold bailiff)”.³¹ If my interpretation is correct, we must conclude that in Rašīdaddīn's opinion examples of the *tawriya* should be called by the name *al-muhtamil li-'q-diddayn* in cases in which the two meanings of the *tawriya* word make possible interpretations which carry two opposite senses, one laudatory and the other abusive.

We have already noted that Rašīdaddīn quotes as examples of the *ihām* sentences in which the hearer is reminded of the double meaning of certain homonyms only through their juxtaposition, not by means of any other elements in the context. We have also seen that in these examples the context does not allow the use of these homonyms in more than one sense. We do not find such examples in Usāma's chapter on the *tawriya*. In addition to this we can now see from the chapter on the term *al-muhtamil li-'q-diddayn* that in Rašīdaddīn's opinion the figure which is the subject of this work should in certain cases be called by this last term rather than by the term *ihām*. It follows that Rašīdaddīn's *ihām* is not completely identical with the *tawriya* of his contemporary,

³¹ Ibrāhīm Amīn aš-Šawāribī in his Arabic translation of the *Ḥadā'iq* (Cairo, 1945, p. 133), renders *ay rūsapi zan muhtasib* by *ayyatuka 'l-'āhira ya 'mra'ata 'l-muhtasib*, but this would require an *izāfet* between the last two words, which is metrically impossible. This example is also quoted in Rādūyānī, *Tarcumān al-Balāga*, ed. Ahmet Ateş, p. 90.

Usāma, and that the latter's concept of the figure was probably much clearer.³²

We have next to ask ourselves whether the terms *tawriya* and *ihām* were used before the time of Usāma and Rašidaddīn Waṭwāṭ in a technical sense different from the one which these two authors attached to them and which we have described above. Thus far I have been able to establish such a different sense only in the case of the term *tawriya*. The term *tawriya* is used in the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*³³ of Ibn Rašīq (d. 456)³⁴ where it occurs in the chapter on the 'Indication' (*išāra*), a vague heading under which Ibn Rašīq groups, apart from the *tawriya*, a number of other figures such as 'suggestion' (*waḥy*), the 'expression of awe' (*tafxīm*), 'allusion' (*ta'riḍ*), etc., which we shall not discuss here. By *tawriya* Ibn Rašīq understands a figure which consists of using names of trees and words such as *šāt* ('sheep'), *bayḍa* ('egg'), *nāqa* ('she-camel'), and *muhra* ('filly') to indicate human beings, mostly women, a practice which, he says, was very common among the ancient Arab poets.³⁵ In addition to this he calls by the name of *tawriya* another figure which depends on alluding to the name of a certain person by the use of a word which has some similarity to his name or by quoting the beginning of a sentence in which his name occurs. This can be concluded from an anecdote which comes immediately after the mention of the term *tawriya* and precedes the above-mentioned discussion of the use of the names of trees, etc., for human beings. This anecdote tells how 'Ulayya, the daughter of al-Mahdī, who fell in love with a slave called Ṭall, once alluded to her beloved by quoting a line in which the word *ẓill* ('shadow') occurred, *ẓill* being distinguished from *ṭall* only by pointing and vocalization. Another time she alluded to him by reciting part of Koran II, 267: *fa-in lam yuṣibhā wābilun...* ("and if no shower falls on it..."), the words following *wābilun* in this verse being *fa-ṭallun* ('yet dew'), a well-known anecdote which is often quoted in anthologies.³⁶ What

³² Another contemporary, Qiwāmī Gancawī, gives an example of the *ihām* but no definition. This example is found in Qiwāmī's *Qaṣida Muṣanna'a* (ed. Ziya Paşa in *Xarābāt*, Istanbul, 1291, I, p. 198; see also Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 54). It is of the type exemplified by the examples taken from Ḥarīrī and Ma'arri in Rašidaddīn's chapter on the *ihām*, except that the second meaning of one of the two homonyms in Qiwāmī's example is syntactically unacceptable.

³³ Cairo, 1325, I, p. 213.

³⁴ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 307, S I, p. 539.

³⁵ See Lane, *Lexicon*, s. vv., *bayḍa* and *šāt*.

³⁶ See, for instance, Šūlī, *Aṣ'ār Awlād al-Xulafā'*, ed. Dunne, pp. 56, 58, and 61; Abu 'l-Farac al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* (Cairo, 1285), IX, pp. 83–84; *idem* (Cairo, 1345), X, pp. 163 to 164; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Taḍkira*, MS Topkapı Sarayı, 2948, vol. X, fol. 5b.

Ibn Rašīq understands by *tawriya* seems to be the use of various expressions by which one can avoid direct mention of a person's name. His concept of the *tawriya* therefore has nothing to do with the concept of Usāma and his followers.³⁷

Though we have not yet succeeded in finding, in a work earlier than the sixth century, a definition of either the term *tawriya* or the term *ihām* corresponding to what Usāma and Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāṭ understand by them, we must of course still ask ourselves whether the figure was perhaps discussed earlier under a different name. In order to be able to answer this question it would be necessary to study from beginning to end all early works on rhetoric, grammar, and lexicography, as well as numerous early anthologies of poetry and collections of anecdotes. For reasons which I have explained above I have not attempted to do this. It is possible that the result would be negative. For in the limited number of early sources I have consulted so far, I have only come across passages which merely touch upon the subject without actually dealing with it. A typical example is the following: In the chapter on *ištirāk* in the *Kitāb al-ʿUmda*³⁸ Ibn Rašīq distinguishes an *ištirāk fi ʿl-lafẓ* ('having words in common') and an *ištirāk fi ʿl-maʿnā* ('having a theme in common'). Speaking of the *ištirāk fi ʿl-lafẓ*, he refers to the *tacnīs*, a figure which depends on repeating words identical in form but different in meaning. He considers this a 'good *ištirāk*' (*ištirāk maḥmūd*). He then points out that there is a second type of *ištirāk fi ʿl-lafẓ* which results from the fact that "words sometimes admit of two interpretations, one of which suits the subject (*maʿnā*) one deals with and the other not, there being no indication of what is meant". There follows an often-quoted example from Farazdaq:

وما مثله في الناس إلا مملوكاً
أبو أمه حتى أبوه يُقاربه

in which it is not at first sight clear (because of the wrong order of the words) whether the word *ḥayy* means 'living being' or 'tribe'.³⁹ This,

³⁷ I have no doubt that Ibn Rašīq understands the term *tawriya* in a technical sense, though it is, of course, also used in a non-technical sense. Nuwayrī, for instance, uses it in both (see, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, III, p. 159, and VII, p. 132).

³⁸ II, pp. 77-78.

³⁹ By putting the words in their correct order one arrives at the following translation: "Among men there is no living being which equals him or comes near to him, except one who has been made king, whose maternal grandfather is his father (*i.e.*, one who is his nephew)"; see Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*,

according to Ibn Rašiq, is a "blameworthy and hideous *ištirāk*" (*ištirāk madmūm qabīḥ*). But a nice form of it, he says, appears in the following two lines by Kuṭayyir:⁴⁰

وَأَنْتِ الَّتِي حَبَّبْتَ كُلَّ قَصِيرَةٍ
إِلَى مَا تَدْرِي بِذَاكَ الْقَصَائِرُ
عَنَيْتُ قَصِيرَاتِ الْحِجَالِ وَلَمْ أَرَدْ
قِصَارَ الْخُطَى شَرَّ النِّسَاءِ الْبَحَائِرُ

translated by Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v., q-ṣ-r): "And thou art the person who hath made every female confined within the house to be an object of love to me, while the females confined within the house know not that; I mean those confined within the curtained canopies; I do not mean the short in step; the worst of women are the short and compressed." The poet, who is aware of a possible *ištirāk* in the word *qaṣā'ir* ('[women] confined within the house' or '[women] short of step') in the first line, avoids this by making clear, in the second line, which kind of *qaṣā'ir* he has in mind. The third type of *ištirāk fi 'l-lafz*, as well as the various types of the *ištirāk fi 'l-ma'nā*, have nothing to do with the use of homonyms, but depend on the borrowing of certain expressions and poetic themes by one author from another. It is surprising that the possibility of purposely using the second type of the *ištirāk fi 'l-lafz* to construct sentences which admit of different but equally acceptable interpretations did not occur to Ibn Rašiq, the more so since such an *ištirāk* would be far more amusing than one which leaves some doubt concerning a relatively unimportant detail which is subsequently explained.⁴¹

Still nearer to the figure which is the subject of this book comes the *Kitāb al-Malāḥin* of Ibn Durayd (d. 321).⁴² The *malāḥin* discussed in

p. 37, note, and the references quoted in the Arabic text (ed. Ritter, p. 20). The *mamdūḥ* is Ibrāhīm b. Hišām b. Ismā'īl, uncle of the caliph Hišām b. 'Abdalmalik.

⁴⁰ *Dīwān* (ed. Pérès), LX, 25; Ibn Ya'īš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (ed. Jahn), I, p. 796; Šinqīṭī, *ad-Durar al-Lawāmi' 'alā Ham' al-Hawāmi'* (Cairo, 1328), I, p. 63.

⁴¹ The same holds for Ibn Rašiq's chapter on "Instances of eulogy and satire of difficult interpretation" (*mā aškala min al-maḍḥ wa-'l-hicā'*) which, among other things, discusses the dubious metaphor quoted below (p. 52) and some examples of lines containing *aqdād*, i.e., words having two contrary meanings. In his chapter on the "Incorporation" (*taḍmīn*) Ibn Rašiq gives two obscene examples of what Šafādī would have called a combination of the *taḍmīn* and the *tawriya* (see below p. 86). The two chapters are found on pp. 150-153 and pp. 68-75 of the second vol. of the *Umda*. For the *ištirāk* see also I, p. 183.

⁴² For a detailed discussion of this work and of the terms *lahn* and *malāḥin*, see J. Fück, *Arabiya*, pp. 128-135 = pp. 195-205 of the French translation (Paris, 1955).

this work depend, like the *tawriyas*, on homonymy, and at first sight it would seem that they differ from them only in their purpose. This purpose is clearly stated in the Introduction (p. 3 of the Cairo edition of 1347), where we read the following: "This is a book we have composed in order that he who is compelled and constrained to pronounce an oath contrary to his will may have recourse to it, and may use an equivocal expression (*yu'ārid*)⁴³ in the way we have outlined, while keeping in mind something different from what he brings into the open, and may thus be saved from the injustice of the oppressor and free himself from the wrong-doing of the tyrant", and farther down (p. 4): "The principle of the *lahn* is that one means to say something but hides (*tuwarri*) it by something else". Those for whom the *malāhin* were meant certainly were not expected, as in the case of the *tawriyas*, to be aware of the fact that these expressions carried a double meaning. This difference in purpose, however, implies that there should also be another, more basic difference between the *malāhin* and the *tawriyas*, one which has to do with the context of the homonym.

To make this difference clear to ourselves we have only to compare a phrase from the *malāhin*, such as: *wa-'llāhi, mā sa'altu fulānan ḥācatan qaṭṭu*, "By God, I have never asked such a one anything (or: a ḥāc-tree)" (p. 7) to, for instance, Mehren's example of the *tawriya mucarrada* which I have quoted in the introductory section of this study. In the case of the *lahn*-example, the second meaning of the word *ḥāca*, 'ḥāc-tree', will perhaps occur to a hearer who is well-versed in lexicography. But unless he is aware of the fact that the speaker is trying to mislead him, he will immediately dismiss this meaning as it is extremely rare, and the text, moreover, gives no special support for it.⁴⁴ The case of the word *ca'far* in Mehren's example is entirely different. We have seen that the word is used both as a proper name and as a common substantive meaning 'rivulet'. As the word is frequently used as a proper

⁴³ For an explanation of the verb *'āraḍa* in this sense, see Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-Burhān* (edited in Cairo in 1938 under the title *Naqd an-Naṭr* and wrongly attributed to Qudāma b. Ca'far), pp. 49ff.

⁴⁴ Similar in purpose is the famous answer which Abraham gave in reply to Pharaoh's question with regard to his wife: *hādihī uxtī*, "This is my sister" (cf., Gen. 12: 10-20). This answer is quoted by Suyūṭī (*Šarḥ al-'Uqūd*, p. 113) and Mehren as an example of the *tawriya mucarrada*. This example has nothing to do with the *tawriya*, since it is not based on homonymy but on leaving unspecified whether *uxti*, 'my sister', should be taken in a literal or in a metaphorical sense (i.e., my sister in the brotherhood of Islam). For the same reason, however, this example can also not be identified with Ibn Durayd's *malāhin*, even though it would correspond to Ibn Durayd's definition of this type of expression. To the same category belongs the reply which Abū Bakr gave in order to avoid disclosing the identity of the Prophet (see below, pp. 87-88).

name, and, moreover, has probably occurred as such earlier in the poem, it is likely to suggest itself first as a proper name. If the hearer is a man of some erudition he will know that *ca'far* also means 'rivulet'. He will then discover that this second meaning finds equal support in the context: the drought cannot harm the people very much, since there is a small stream nearby. There is, however, as we have seen earlier, a difference in the reason why this drought has no harmful consequences. This means that the *tawriya*-word is now related to the context in a different way, and it is precisely the discovery of this new relation between context and *tawriya*-word which surprises the hearer and accounts for the charm of the figure. What is more, the existence of this relation forces the hearer to accept the second meaning of the word *ca'far*. Even in the case of less interesting examples such as the one quoted from Anbārī in Rašīdaddīn's chapter on the *ihām*, we cannot deny that there is at least one element in the context (one might say the word *kūdak*, 'child', 'apprentice') which reminds the hearer of the second meaning of the word *lab*. However, in this case there is no striking new interpretation of the context, except that if one takes the word *lab* as meaning 'lip', one has to take the words *na-dārad mihmān*, 'he does not treat [us] to' in a metaphorical sense. The *tawriya* clearly serves an artistic purpose, which is to make the hearer discover the presence of a homonym in the context. This same purpose is absent in the case of the *malāḥin*, which implies a difference of technique in the use of the two figures. There can be no doubt, moreover, that the *Kitāb al-Malāḥin* was written with a practical purpose. This is born out by the fact that texts dealing with means of avoiding certain prohibitions of Muslim canon law (*ḥiyal*) often include prescriptions on avoiding perjury which are very similar to those suggested by Ibn Durayd. It is likely, therefore, that we have to take the Introduction literally and not as a fanciful way of pointing out certain aspects of the Arabic lexicon.⁴⁵

In the preceding pages I have tried to establish as far as possible the earliest texts dealing with the *tawriya*. If one assumes that a more detailed investigation would disclose that the texts I have mentioned must indeed be counted among the earliest dealing with this figure, there would be one more question to answer: How should we explain that although by the end of the fifth century Arabic and Persian literary theorists had developed their art into an elaborate system and had created definitions and technical terms for a considerable number of

⁴⁵ See J. Schacht, *Die Arabische ḥijal-Literatur in Der Islam*, XV (1926), pp. 211-232 (especially pp. 221-224 and 226-228).

figures, a rather obvious figure like the *tawriya* still had to be studied? To find an answer to this question it would be necessary to compare the history of Arabic and Persian literary theory to that in other languages. To do this is beyond the scope of this small book. There are, however, a few points which I think should be kept in mind: The use of the figure in poetry is rather difficult; it may lend a certain charm to a poem, but its artistic merits are usually far below those of the simile, the metaphor, the antithesis, and some of the other figures that found a place in the handbooks on literary theory before the *tawriya* was introduced. Moreover, it often makes strong demands on the hearer's knowledge of the lexicon, even if one assumes him to be a person of considerable learning. It consequently can have appealed only to the later Islamic poets who (for reasons which, as in similar cases of decadence, will probably never be sufficiently explained) attached more importance to skill than to inspiration, or had to satisfy a public that had developed this attitude. It may well be, therefore, that the theory of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' and Ṣafadī who, as we shall see later, held that the figure was not much used before the sixth century, is correct. This then would explain the fact that it found its place in the handbooks on literary theory much later than many of the other figures.

One may also approach the problem from a different angle and suggest that the figure is too obvious to attract much attention, and that this, together with its comparatively rare incidence in early poetry, accounts for its absence from the early rhetorical handbooks. It is interesting to note that Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, which was a well-known handbook in the Elizabethan period of English literature and deals with a great many figures of speech, discusses what Arab and Persian critics would call *ibhām* or *tawcīh*, condemning it as a vice, but makes no mention whatsoever of the *tawriya*. Nor do the Greek and Roman literary theorists appear to have attached much importance to the figure. As far as I know they either ignore the *tawriya* or use a single term (*ἀμφιβολία* or *ambiguitas*) to cover both *tawriya* and *tawcīh*. Moreover, most of them are concerned only with pointing out means of avoiding this type of expression, which they apparently do not consider as an ornament of style but only as a result of carelessness on the part of the orator. Among those who, to some degree, accept the *ambiguitas* as a figure of speech which may be purposely sought, I may mention Quintillian who, in the sixth book of his *Institutio oratoria*,⁴⁶ quotes

⁴⁶ Chapter III, 51 = vol II, p. 465, of the edition of H.E. Butler (London, 1921). I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor J.H. Waszink, Leiden.

the following amusing example from Cicero's *Pro Fonteio* (the passage in question has survived only in Quintillian's quotation): ... *cuius matrem, dum vixisset, ludum, postquam mortua esset, magistros habuisse*, "... whose mother kept a school while she lived and masters after she was dead".⁴⁷ The word *magister* in this text has the double meaning of 'schoolmaster' and 'receiver' (*magister bonorum*), and *ludus*, as Quintillian explains, is used metaphorically in the sense of 'school', the explanation being that "in her lifetime women of infamous character used to frequent her house, while after her death her property was sold". But Quintillian does not fail to make clear that he considers this kind of witticism somewhat far-fetched and finds it "rarely effective" in oratory.

⁴⁷ I follow Butler's translation.

3. THE IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS OF ŞAFADĪ

Before turning to Şafadī's *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* 'an at-Tawriya wa-'l-Istixdām, which is the main source for this book, it will be useful to deal briefly with a few of the other classical literary theorists who discussed the *tawriya* in their handbooks. I will limit myself to those who appear to have made important contributions to the theory of the figure and to those whose definitions and terminology are quoted in the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*. Here again it is quite possible that some important sources have been overlooked, since many texts exist only in manuscript and are therefore not easily accessible and in some cases are known only by their titles.¹

I have already referred to Faxraddīn ar-Rāzī's *Nihāyat al-Īcāz fī Dirāyat al-I'cāz*.² According to its introduction, this work is a digest of two famous works by 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī: the *Asrār al-Balāğā* and the *Dalā'il al-I'cāz*. It has a chapter on the *ihām* containing material

¹ The sources which I have consulted and which are not yet accessible in print are (apart from the Leiden MS of Usāma's *Kitāb al-Badī'* mentioned above and the MS of Şafadī's *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* which will be described in detail in the next section):

I. Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Ta'likira*, MS Top kapı Sarayı, Sultan Ahmet III 2948 (see Brockelmann, *GAL*, G I, p. 280, SI, p. 493; Fu'ād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Maxṭū'āt al-Muṣawwara* (Cairo, 1954), I, pp. 435-436), vol. X, fol. 1b-71b:

الباب الثالث والاربعون ما جاء في الكناية والتعريض والاحاجي والمعايا
والتورية واستطراد الشعراء.

II. Ibn Xātima, *Rā'iq at-Taḥliya fī Fā'iq at-Tawriya* (see, *GAL*, G II, p. 259; Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, p. 280).

III. Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, MS Şehit Ali Paşa 2170 (see, *GAL*, G I, p. 306, SI, p. 539; Fu'ād Sayyid, *op. cit.*, I, p. 407; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq, *Badī' al-Qur'ān*, ed. Ḥifnī Muḥammad Şaraf, Introd., pp. 88-94).

I and II give some examples of the *tawriya* but no definition. III is of some importance and will be dealt with separately below.

² See above, p. 26.

which I have been unable to find in any of these two sources, and which, therefore, may well be an addition by Faxraddîn himself. This chapter on the *ihām* presents itself as a curious mixture of a definition of the *tawriya* and of part of Zamaxšarî's discussion of the *taxyil*, and thus, I think, supports my theory that the two figures were confused. The following complete translation of the chapter (which is a very short one) will be sufficient to make this clear:

"[Chapter on] the *ihām*. This [figure] depends on a word having two meanings, one obvious (*qarib*) and the other unusual (*ġarib*). The hearer's understanding turns first to the obvious meaning, though what is meant is this unusual (*ba'id*) meaning. This (*i.e.*, the use of this figure) is acceptable only as long as the purpose is giving visible form to this less obvious meaning through the literal meaning (*taṣwīru dālika 'l-ma'na 'l-ba'idi bi-'l-ma'na 'z-ẓāhir*). Most dubious passages [in the Koran] belong to this category, as for instance the word of God: 'He grips the whole earth on the Day of Resurrection and the heavens are folded in His right hand' " (Koran XXXIX, 67). This chapter is referred to by Şafadî who, as we shall see later, was apparently unable to consult the two works of 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānî of which the *Nihāya* is a digest, but thought the fact that the term *ihām* is mentioned in the *Nihāya* was sufficient proof that this term was used by 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānî.

Another work to which I have already referred is the *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* of Sakkākî. We have seen that this work contains a short chapter on the *tawriya* which the author, like his contemporary Faxraddîn ar-Rāzî, calls by the name of *ihām*. We have also seen that like Faxraddîn ar-Rāzî, Sakkākî unwittingly confuses this figure with the *taxyil*. It is important to note, however, that in spite of this confusion, the *Miftāḥ* contains a good example of the figure which is the subject of this study. This example runs as follows (the name of the author is not mentioned):

حملناهم طُرّاً على الدُّهْم بعدما
خلعنا عليهم بالطعان ملابساً

"We put them all in chains (or: gave them all black horses to ride) after we had bestowed on them the clothes of [lance-] thrusts".

If one leaves aside the fact that *duhm* can strictly speaking be only the plural of *adham*, 'black' (the plural of *adham*, 'fetter', 'chain', is *adāhim*, not *duhm*), the line is an excellent example of the figure that is

the subject of this study. The hearer first takes *ḥamalnā*, 'we gave them to ride', in its literal sense, but discovers as soon as he comes to the ironical *xala'nā 'alayhim*, 'we bestowed upon them clothes [of honor]', that the word *ḥamalnā* has a figurative meaning in its relation to the *tawriya* word, *duhm*. The hearer thus has no difficulty in adapting the context to the new meaning of this *tawriya* word.

The chapter is interesting also in that it contains a definition, and a commentary to the above example in which Sakkākī seems to emphasize implicitly the importance of the context in this type of word-play. The definition has probably to be translated as follows: "This figure depends on a word being used in two senses, one obvious (*qarīb*) and one not obvious (*ba'id*). This word is first mentioned with a view to suggesting its obvious meaning, but later it becomes clear that what is meant is the not-obvious meaning". Sakkākī then quotes the example, which he explains as follows: "By 'putting them on *duhm*' the poet means 'putting the enemy in chains'. But he makes [the hearer] believe that he means 'giving them black horses to ride' ". Both this definition and the commentary to the example clearly describe the technique of the poet, a technique which could not have been clear to Sakkākī without a careful study of the context of the *tawriya*.

Sakkākī next quotes the two Koranic examples which we have mentioned earlier, offering no explanation as to how they should be interpreted, and ends the chapter by observing that most dubious passages in the Koran belong to the same category.

Ḍiyā'addīn b. al-Aṭīr (d. 637) deals with the *tawriya* in two consecutive chapters of his famous *Kitāb al-Maṭal as-Sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa'-š-Šā'ir*, the chapter on 'suggesting erroneous interpretations' (*al-muġālaṭāt al-ma'nawiyya*) and the chapter on 'riddles' (*aḥācī*).³ Şafadī⁴ assumes therefore that the term *muġālaṭa ma'nawiyya* is synonymous with *tawriya*. This identification is not quite correct since one of the examples Ibn al-Aṭīr quotes in this chapter should be counted among the *malāḥin* of Ibn Durayd. It seems much more likely that the term *muġālaṭa ma'nawiyya* is meant by Ibn al-Aṭīr to have the more general sense we have suggested here,⁵ and covers two figures which Ibn al-Aṭīr either did not distinguish properly or preferred to bring under one

³ Vol. II, pp. 215-235 of the edition of Muḥ. Muḥyiddīn 'Abdalḥamīd (Cairo, 1939).

⁴ See below, p. 80.

⁵ The rather vague description of the figure which Ibn al-Aṭīr gives at the beginning of the chapter (perhaps to be translated, reading *aw naqīd* for *wa-naqīd*, "calling to mind a [second] concept which is in accordance with or opposed to something else [in the sentence]") certainly leaves room for both figures, though it can hardly be called

heading. The same is true of the term *tawriya* which is occasionally used in the chapter and is left, like the term *muğālaṭa ma'nawiyya*, without a proper definition. It probably means no more than 'hiding the proper meaning' and therefore hardly has a technical sense. On the other hand there can be no doubt that many of the quotations found in the first chapter on the *muğālaṭāt* are excellent and often very amusing examples of the figure which is the subject of this study.⁶ Moreover, it is interesting to note that Ibn al-Aṭīr emphasizes the element of surprise effected by making the hearer discover that the context of a homonym accords with both of its meanings. He calls this *naql al-ma'nā min miṭlin ilā miṭlihī* (probably: "changing the sense [of a word] to suit a second but similar theme"), and points out that in the following line by Mutanabbī⁷ the (metaphorical) use of *wicār*, 'nest', in the context of *ta'lab*, 'end of the spear-shaft', is very appropriate, since the same word, *ta'lab*, also has the sense of 'fox':

يُغَادِرُ كُلَّ مُلْتَقَتٍ إِلَيْهِ
وَلَبَّتْهُ لَشَعْلَبُهُ وَجَارُ

"He leaves every man who turns towards him [in battle] behind him with a hole from the end of his lance (or: a hole for his fox) in the upper part of his chest".

a definition. Although Ibn al-Aṭīr owes much to his predecessors he often shows himself independent in his choice of terminology and his classification of material.

⁶ So, for instance, the following line, which belongs to a piece of satire addressed to a poet whose knowledge of the Koran was apparently not very sound. There is an amusing play on the words *ṣu'arā'* and *an'ām* which in this line can be taken in their ordinary sense, but also as names of *Sūras* of the Koran (the name of the poet is not mentioned):

وَحَلَّطْتُمْ بَعْضَ الْقُرْآنِ بِبَعْضِهِ
فَجَعَلْتُمْ الشُّعْرَاءَ فِي الْأَنْعَامِ

"You confused some parts of the Koran with other parts, and [thereby] put the poets among the sheep" (or: "and put [part of] 'The Poets' among 'The Sheep'").

⁷ *Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici (together with the commentary of Wāhidi), p. 571; *idem*, ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā' (together with the commentary of 'Ukbarī, Cairo, 1936), II, p. 104; *idem*, ed. Yāzici, p. 421; *idem*, ed. 'Abdalwahhāb 'Azzām, p. 393. Wāhidi (wrote the commentary in 462) mentions only the "homogeneity" that is effected by choosing the word *wicār* as a name for the hole made by the end of the spear-shaft (*sammā madxalahū wicāran li-tacānusi 'l-kalām*). 'Ukbarī (d. 616) calls the line an example of the *tawriya*.

Still greater, he thinks, is the impression made on the hearer in cases where the double interpretation of a homonym results in a contradiction, as, for instance, in the following anonymous quotation:

وما أشياء تَشْرِيبُهَا مَالٌ
فَانْ نَفَقَتْ فَأَكْسَدُ مَا تَكُونُ

"Things you buy are not real property; if they perish (or: are much in demand) they have no value in the market", in which the word *nafaqat* means both 'perish' and 'are much in demand'.

In the chapter on the *aḥācī* which immediately follows the chapter on the *muḡālaṭa ma' nawīyya*, Ibn al-Aṭīr briefly explains that the difference between the two figures lies in the fact that one is based on the use of homonyms while the other is not. This means that the phrase, *a-yaḥillu li-ʿṣ-ṣāʾimī an yaʿkula nahāran* which, according to Ibn al-Aṭīr, is found among the riddles presented in the form of *fatwās* in Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, cannot be considered as such. For the word *nahār* has two meanings, 'day' and 'young bustard', and the phrase can consequently mean both: "Is it lawful for a man who is fasting to eat during day-time?" and "Is it lawful for a man who is fasting to eat a young bustard?" It should therefore be considered as an example of the *muḡālaṭa ma' nawīyya*, not as an example of the *aḥācī*.

Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḡa' al-'Adwānī al-Miṣrī (d. 654),⁸ a well-known poet and philologist who lived in Cairo in the first century of Ayyubid rule, left two important works on rhetoric, the *Badi' al-Qur'ān* and the *Taḥrīr at-Taḥbīr*.⁹ The first of these was recently edited together with an interesting introduction, apparatus criticus, and notes by Ḥifnī Muḥammad Šaraf (Cairo, 1957). As the title says, the work deals with figures of speech in the Koran. The work has separate chapters for each figure: First Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḡa' gives the figures discussed by Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Qudāma, whom he considers to have founded the science of literary theory; next, the figures discussed by those who came after them; and finally, the figures for which he believes that he himself was the first to establish terms and examples.¹⁰ The second work exists only in manu-

⁸ For references, see above, p. 44, note 1.

⁹ Frequently called *Taḥbīr at-Taḥrīr*. So, for instance, *Badi' al-Qur'ān*, text p. 15; Ibn Ḥicca, *Xizāna*, p. 136.

¹⁰ See pp. 13-15 of the text (see also pp. 88-94 of the Introduction, where Dr. Ḥifnī compares the arrangement of the chapters in the *Badi'* and the *Taḥrīr*). In connection with Qudāma b. Ca'far I should like to draw attention to a point which is of some interest, although it has nothing to do with the subject of this study. Speaking of the

script. Like the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* it discusses each figure of speech in a separate chapter. The examples have been taken from both poetry and prose with occasional references to the Koran which (at least in the MS Şehit Ali Paşa 2170 which I consulted¹¹) are often found in the margin and might well have been added by a copyist. The *Tahrîr at-Taḥbîr* differs slightly from the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* in the choice of the figures discussed, but we find the same division into figures taken from Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Qudāma, figures taken from those who came after these authors, and figures for which Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' claims to have himself been the first to choose terms and examples. The *Tahrîr at-Taḥbîr* is earlier than the *Badî' al-Qur'ân*, as appears from the author's own statement in the introduction to the second work (p. 15).

Both the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* and the *Tahrîr at-Taḥbîr* have chapters on the *tawriya*, the *istixdām*, the *tawhîm*, and the *ibhām* which contain some interesting points. I will first discuss the two chapters on the *tawriya* which are found on pp. 102–103 of Dr. Ḥifnî's edition of the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* and on fol. 60b–61b of the MS Şehit Ali Paşa 2170 of the *Tahrîr at-Taḥbîr*. In these chapters we note the following:

a. In the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' observes that the term *tawcîh* is used synonymously with the term *tawriya*. We have already seen that Raşîdaddîn Waṭwâṭ uses a similar term, *ḍu 'l-wachayn* (which he says is synonymous with *al-muḥtamil li-'d-ḍiddayn*) for a series of examples among which there is one *tawriya*. Ibn Abi 'l-Işba's statement suggests that the term *tawcîh* was also applied to the *tawriya* alone, and this is confirmed by Şafadî who, as we shall see later, declares himself against calling the *tawriya* by this name.

works he used in composing the *Badî' al-Qur'ân*, Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' mentions works "like the *Naqd* of Qudāma" (*ka-Naqdi Qudāma*, p. 4). The text of two of the MSS used by Dr. Ḥifnî in editing this text, both probably from the the seventh century, reads "like the two *Naqds* of Qudāma" (*ka-Naqday Qudāma*). If we adopt this latter reading, we have to assume that Qudāma wrote two works under the title, *Naqd*. It has recently been established that Qudāma probably wrote only one book by this name, the *Naqd aş-Şi'r*, and that the work which was edited under the title, *Naqd an-Naṭr*, was composed by a certain Ishāq b. Ibrāhîm, although it is attributed to Qudāma on the title-pages of the two known MSS of the work (see 'Alî Ḥasan 'Abdalqādir in *Macallat al-Macma' al-'Ilmî al-'Arabî*, vol. XXIV, i, pp. 73–81). One of these MSS is in the Escorial Library in Spain and the other in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. Since, as appears from the Escorial MS, the *Naqd an-Naṭr* was attributed to Qudāma as early as the sixth or the first decade of the seventh century (see Bonebakker, *The Kitāb Naqd aş-Şi'r of Qudāma b. Ġāfar*, pp. 60–61), it is easily possible that Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' believed Qudāma to be the author of the *Naqd an-Naṭr*, which would mean that the reading *ka-Naqday Qudāma* in the *Badî' al-Qur'ân* is correct.

¹¹ See above, p. 44, note 1.

b. In speaking of the two senses of the homonym on which the figure depends, Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' does not, as most critics before and after him, use the terms *ma'nā qarīb*, 'nearer meaning', and *ma'nā ba'id* (or: *garīb*), 'farther meaning'. Instead he uses the term, 'neglected meaning', as against the meaning that is actually 'used', as for instance in the following definition in the *Badī' al-Qur'ān*: "It (the *tawriya*) depends on a word admitting two different senses. The author uses one of the senses it admits and neglects the other, though what he means is the sense he neglects, not the sense he uses".

This definition does not explain how Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' thinks the hearer would be reminded of this 'neglected' meaning, as it does not suggest that the context should point to it in any way. It seems rather that Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' completely relies on the hearer being aware of the neglected meaning through his knowledge of the lexicon. That this is actually the case is sufficiently clear from the examples, of which it will be enough to quote the following (Koran X, 92): *fa-'l-yawma nunac-cika bi-badanika li-takūna li-man xalfaka āyatan*, "... and today we save thee with thy body that thou mayest be a token to those who come after thee". Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' explains that the word *badan* in this verse has not only the sense of 'body', but also the sense of 'coat of mail', in which case the translation would be: "... and today we save thee with thy coat of mail". If one accepts this second interpretation it will be clear, he says, that *badan* has been used "seemingly" (*fi 'z-zāhir*) in the sense of 'body', the sense of 'coat of mail' being neglected. What is intended, however, is the neglected meaning, since Pharaoh's escape — that is, his coming out of the sea after having been drowned in it (*cf.* the preceding verses) — while still carrying his coat of mail is a greater miracle than his emerging naked. It is easy to see that Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' does not believe that the context of the word *badan* suggests a double interpretation of this word. A double interpretation can be discovered only by studying the lexicon and through theological speculation. The other two examples found in this chapter are of a similar nature. It is interesting to note that Ibn Abi 'l-Işba', although he was, according to his own statement, acquainted with the work of his predecessor, Faxraddīn ar-Rāzī,¹² does not attempt to explain as *tawriyas* verses which contain anthropomorphic expressions.

c. In the chapter on the *tawriya* in the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr* Ibn Abi 'l-Işba' gives as his opinion that the best example of the *tawriya* in ancient Arabic poetry is found in the two lines by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a beginning

¹² See p. 5 of the text.

with *ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā*, etc., and the best ever composed by a Persian or an Arab [in modern times] is found in the two lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ beginning with *Ka-anna Nisāna (Kanūna)*, etc. Both have been quoted in the Introduction to this study and therefore need not be repeated here. Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' is, as far as I know, the first to quote these two examples.

d. In the chapter on the *tawriya* in the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' states that the figure is seldom used by the ancient poets (*al-mutaqaddimūn*), but frequently by modern poets (*al-muḥdaṭūn*). It is a special favorite, he says, with modern Persian poets (*šū'arā' al-'Acam al-'aṣriyyūn*) among whom he mentions Arracānī (d. 544).¹³

e. In the chapter on the *istixdām* in the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*¹⁴ Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' points out the difference between the *istixdām* and the *tawriya*: Both figures are based on a word having two senses. But whereas the *tawriya* depends on "the use of one of the senses and the neglect of the other", the *istixdām* depends on "the use of the two senses together". In the corresponding chapter in the *Baḍī' al-Qur'ān*,¹⁵ we find an interesting specimen of what Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' considers to be an example of an *istixdām* in the Koran. He explains as such the first words of Koran XIII, 39–40: *Li-kulli acalin kitābun yamḥu 'llāhu mā yašā'u wa-yuḥbitu*, etc., "For every period there is a 'kitāb'. God effaceth what He will, and establisheth what He will", etc. The word *kitāb*, as Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' explains, has the double sense of 'decreed end' and of 'writing'. It is "made to serve" the word *acal*, 'period', in its first sense and the word *yamḥū*, 'effaceth', in its second.

f. The two chapters on the *tawhīm*¹⁶ do not call for special comment, except that the chapter in the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr* contains a nice example of the *tawhīm at-tawriya* composed by Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' himself. It runs as follows:

رمى ولا وترَ عندى قوسٍ حاجبه
قلبي فقد رت ان القوس مؤتور

"Though I had not committed a crime requiring retaliation (*witr*), the bow of his eyebrow shot [an arrow] into my heart, so that I concluded that this bow must have good reason for seeking revenge (*mawtūr*)". Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' explains that the adjective *mawtūr* is a passive participle

¹³ See, *GAL*, G I 367, S I, p. 627.

¹⁴ Fol. 63a.

¹⁵ See pp. 104–105.

¹⁶ *Baḍī' al-Qur'ān*, pp. 131–140; *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, fol. 86b–87a.

derived from *watarahū*, 'he deprived him of his kinsman without giving retaliation'. The fact that *mawtūr* is an epithet of *qaws*, 'bow', suggests, however, that *mawtūr* has also something to do with *watar*, 'string of a bow', so that there is reason to believe that the word contains a *tawriya*. But this impression, he says, is not correct, since in good (*faṣīḥ*) Arabic only the passive participle of the second form, *muwattar*, 'having a string attached to it', 'braced', is connected with *watar*, not *mawtūr*, which is a passive participle of the first form.¹⁷

g. The chapters on the *ibhām* in the *Badi' al-Qur'ān* and the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*¹⁸ contain a few interesting statements. At the same time, however, they make a somewhat confused impression and raise some difficult questions of interpretation. As, moreover, they have nothing of direct importance to offer for our subject (Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq does not even explain the difference between the *ibhām* and the *tawriya*) I think there is not much point in discussing these two chapters here. I will make an exception for one of the examples, two lines quoted from an anonymous poet of the Banū 'Abd aṣ-Ṣams b. Sa'd b. Tamīm,¹⁹ which show how, because the context fails to make it sufficiently clear that a word is used in a metaphorical sense, it may seem as though the poet were satirizing his own clan. It runs as follows:

تَضَيَّفَنِي وَهَنًا فَقُلْتُ أَسَابِقِي
إِلَى الزَّادِ شَلَّتْ مِنْ يَدَيَّ الْأَصَابِعُ
وَلَمْ تَلْقَ لِلسَّعْدِيِّ ضَيْفًا بِقَفْرَةٍ
مِنَ الْأَرْضِ إِلَّا وَهُوَ صَدْيَانُ جَائِعُ

"He was my guest during the middle of the night, and I said to myself: 'Will he reach for the provisions before I do (i.e., kill and eat me before I can kill and eat him)?—May the fingers of my hand grow dry!' [No!] You will not find a guest of a Sa'dī in a deserted country who is not thirsty and hungry". The "guest", Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq explains, is a wolf which had bitten the poet's leg and which he had managed to kill afterwards. The poet boasts that similar "guests" will also not be able to quench their thirst and still their hunger. The *ibhām* in this case is different from the type which is discussed in the post-classical handbooks and of which examples have been given in the Introduction to this

¹⁷ See however, Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., *watara*.

¹⁸ *Badi' al-Qur'ān*, pp. 306–313; *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, fol. 169 a–b.

¹⁹ *Badi' al-Qur'ān*, pp. 309–310; *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, fol. 169 a; see also Ibn Rašīq, 'Umda II, pp. 150–151.

study. It does not depend on a term with a relative force being left without specification, but on leaving undecided whether a certain word in the sentence, the word "guest", should be taken in its literal or in a figurative sense. The result, however, is the same as in other cases; one of the interpretations results in eulogy and the other in satire.

h. Both the *Badī' al-Qur'ān* and the *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr* contain a chapter on the *taršīḥ*,²⁰ by which Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' understands the use of an element in the context which "prepares" (the *Badī'* has *turaṣṣīḥ*, the *Tahrīr* has *tūṣīl wa-tuhayyī'* [?]) the figure of speech intended by the author. Speaking of the *taršīḥ* in the case of the *tawriya*, he quotes from the story of Joseph in Koran XII, 42 the passage in which Joseph urges one of his fellow prisoners not to forget him after he has been released from prison and restored to favor. In this passage Joseph says: *uḍkurnī 'inda rabbika* "mention me in the presence of thy lord". In the immediately following words *fa-ansāhu 'š-ṣayṭānu ḍikra rabbiḥi*, "But Satan caused him to forget to mention [it] to his lord (or: caused him to forget to remember his Lord)", the word *rabbihī* can be interpreted not only as meaning 'his king' but also 'his God' (*ḍikr* has the double meaning of 'mentioning' and 'remembering'). This double sense would not be clear, however, without the preceding *uḍkurnī 'inda rabbika* in which *rabbika*, according to Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā', can refer only to the king. As a similar case he quotes the famous saying of 'Alī concerning Aṣ'at b. Qays, *wa-hāḍā kāna abūhu yansucu 'š-šimāla bi-'l-yamīn*, "and this man's father used to weave cloaks with his right hand", in which the presence of the words *bi-'l-yamīn*, "with his right hand", suggests that one should take *šimāl* as meaning 'left hand', not as meaning 'cloaks' (plural of *šamla*). Curiously enough, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' states explicitly that he does not consider the names Ṭurayyā and Suhayl, in the two lines by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a which he has quoted earlier in his chapter on the *tawriya* in the *Tahrīr*, to contain a mutual *taršīḥ*, and supports this by pointing out that there would still be a *tawriya* in the name Ṭurayyā if we should read, for instance, Ziyād instead of Suhayl. For if we should read the line this way, he says, Ṭurayyā would still be the name of a constellation and the name of a woman and it would still be possible to say that a star and a woman can never meet. A *tawriya* which needs no *taršīḥ* he calls a *tawriya maḥḍa*, and he illustrates this concept by one more example which is equally unconvincing. The idea which lies behind the term

²⁰ *Badī' al-Qur'ān*, pp. 103-104; *Tahrīr at-Taḥbīr*, fol. 61 b-62 b.

tawriya maḥḍa is, of course, not quite correct. It is true that a sentence like *ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā Ziyādan* admits of two explanations, since *Turayyā* can be the name of a woman and the name of a constellation. But Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' forgets that nothing in this sentence suggests that the poet wishes to remind the hearer of the double meaning of *Turayyā*, and that, moreover, there is no evidence that he had intended to show that a marriage between a constellation and a man is impossible. The double meaning of the word *Turayyā* becomes clear only after the word *Suhayl* has been substituted for the word *Ziyād*.²¹ The passage confirms my impression that, in theory at least, Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' supposes the hearer to be capable of understanding a word-play simply through being familiar with the lexicon. The *tarṣīḥ* chapter in the *Tahrīr* also contains observations on the *tarṣīḥ* of the metaphor, the *tarṣīḥ* of the simile, and the *tarṣīḥ* of the antithesis.

For the first time we find in these two chapters a distinction between various types of *tawriyas*. The terminology used by Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' does not, however, correspond to the one that is found in the classical handbooks and which has been referred to in the Introduction to this study. *Tarṣīḥ*, as we have seen, in later times means the presence of a word or words related in meaning to the meaning of the *tawriya*-word that is not intended by the author, though this *tarṣīḥ* is not considered indispensable to the understanding of the word-play. The term *tawriya maḥḍa* is not, as far as I know, used by any other literary theorist.

Badraddīn b. Mālik (d. 686),²² the son of Camāladdīn b. Mālik, the famous grammarian, wrote a little treatise under the title, *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-Funūn at-Talāt, al-Ma'āni wa-'l-Bayān wa-'l-Badī'*, which follows the pattern of Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*. This work was printed in Cairo in 1341/1923. It contains a chapter on the *tawriya* (pp. 119–120) which offers some new developments in the theory of the

²¹ I have pointed out earlier that in the anonymous eulogy of Ca'far al-Barmakī, the play on the word *ca'far* is suggested by the context which, even though it does not contain any elements related to *ca'far* as a proper name, lends itself to a striking new interpretation as soon as one tries to take *ca'far* in that sense, and so leaves no doubt as to the intentions of the poet. The same is true even of short sentences like: *Schillers Handschuh geht nicht über Goethes Faust*, where the hearer discovers that *geht nicht über* has to be taken in a figurative sense. In the case of *Ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā Ziyādan* I cannot see that the context suggests the word-play in any way. What Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥā' seems to have in mind is, that the context of *Turayyā* in *Ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā Ziyādan*, strictly speaking, does not exclude taking this word in the sense of 'the Pleiades', whereas in the first two examples the word *Ṣayṭān*, 'Satan', and the word *yansuc*, 'weaves', make it practically impossible to give a second meaning to *rabbihī* and *ṣimāl* respectively.

²² See, *GAL*, G I, p. 295, S I, p. 516.

figure. Badraddīn opens the chapter by stating that some use the term *tawcīh*²³ as synonymous with *tawriya*. Then follows a general definition which does not call for special comment. Next he analyzes the various types of *tawriya*, which, according to him, are four in number: The first type is the *tawriya mucarrada* or 'bare *tawriya*', which is exemplified by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's famous example beginning with *Ka-anna Nīsāna (Kānūna)* ... We have met this example before and therefore need not discuss it here again. Badraddīn states without offering any further explanation that the word *gazāla* in this example is not accompanied either before or after by any of the 'attributes' (*lawāzim*) of the 'sense which conceals [another]' (*al-muwarrā bihi*). The second type is the *tawriya muraššaḥa bimā qablahā*, 'the *tawriya* which is prepared by what precedes it'. As examples he quotes the words *cady* and *ḥamal* in the same line by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ. The double meaning of these words, he says, is 'prepared' by the fact that there is a 'relationship' (*mulā'-ama*) between the [hiding sense of the] word *gazāla* and the [hiding sense of the] words *cady* and *ḥamal*. Similarly he finds that the *tawriya* in the word *cufūn* in the lines of Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr al-Ḥanafī, beginning with *Fa-lammā na'at 'annā*, etc., which have been quoted in the Introduction to this study, but have not yet been met in any of our sources, is prepared by the word *ağḍaynā*. For *ağḍaynā* can have only a word meaning 'eyelids' as object. But the context (*siyāq kalāmihi*), he says, readily shows that what the poet means is not the closing of the eyelids but the closing up of the swords in their scabbards while there is still unrevengeed murder. The third example he quotes is the line beginning with *Ḥamalnāhum ṭurran* ..., which we have met earlier in Sakkākī's chapter on the figure. Badraddīn offers no explanation of the *tarṣīḥ* in this line, which, in accordance with his theory, would depend on the word *ḥamalnāhum*. The third type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya muraššaḥa bimā ba'dahā*, 'the *tawriya* which is prepared by that which comes after it', is exemplified by the lines of Ibn ar-Rabī' beginning with *Lawla 't-taṭayyuru* ..., which have also been mentioned in the Introduction to this study; but like the lines by Yaḥyā b. Manṣūr they are not, as far as I know, quoted in any earlier chapter on the *tawriya*. For if one should use a different word instead of *mafrūḍ* there would, Badraddīn says, no longer be any question of a *tawriya*. (We have seen that this view is shared by the classical literary theorists who, however, call the

²³ The text of the printed edition reads *at-tarciya*. I read *at-tawcīh*, following the MS Süleymaniye 907, a good old manuscript of the work written in 702. The chapter is found there on fols. 130b-132a.

tawriya in this case a *tawriya muhayya'a*.) The same is the case, he says, with the word *yamīn* in the saying of 'Alī Kāna yaḥūku 'š-šimāla bi-'l-yamīn,²⁴ which we have met in a slightly different form in the *taršīḥ* chapters of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba'. The fourth type of *tawriya* is the *tawriya muraššaḥa bi-lafẓayni kullun minhumā yaraššiḥu šāḥibahū laḥā*, 'the *tawriya* that is prepared by two words each of which prepares the other for it'. This type of *tawriya* is exemplified by the two lines by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a beginning with *Ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu 't-Turayyā* ..., which again we have met earlier. The two names *Turayyā* and *Suhayl*, as Badraddīn points out, strongly suggest by their juxtaposition that each of them should be taken as the name of a celestial body. Badraddīn ends the chapter by quoting an example from the *Siqṭ az-Zand* of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri:²⁵

وَحَرَفٍ كَنُونٍ تَحْتَ رَاءٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ * بِدَالٍ يَوْمَ الرَّسْمِ غَيْرَهُ النَّقْطُ

"... and an emaciated she-camel [curved] like [the letter] *nūn* under a rider who is beating her lungs (i.e., beating her flanks) and does not drive her along gently on his way to the traces [of a ruined dwelling] obliterated by the rain". The fact that Badraddīn quotes this example shows once more that some of the Arab critics admitted as *tawriyas* lines which, even though they contained homonyms, did not admit of more than one interpretation. For if we should interpret *ḥarf* as meaning 'a letter' (not: 'an emaciated she-camel'), and *rā* as 'the letter *rā*' (not: 'a rider who is beating her lungs') etc., the result would be utter nonsense.

Though the theoretical development, if we compare the theories of Badraddīn b. Mālik with those of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba', may not seem very significant, Badraddīn's chapter on the *tawriya* is nevertheless of some interest as it is the first instance of the use of the terms *tawriya mu-*

²⁴ The Cairo edition of the *Miṣbāḥ* reads *yuharriku 'š-šimāla bi-'l-yamīn*, a reading which might well be the result of an attempt to give an acceptable context to the word *šimāl* if taken in the sense of 'left hand'.

²⁵ See, *Šurūḥ Siqṭ az-Zand* (Cairo, 1945-1948), IV, pp. 1651-1653; in my translation I follow the explanation offered by the commentators. Badraddīn states that the example is quoted by "the author of the *Miftāḥ*". It is not found in the chapter on the *tawriya* in that work, but in the chapter on the *murā'āt an-naẓir* (p. 225), a term which Sakkākī defines as *al-cam' bayna 'l-mutašābihāt*. It is unlikely that we have to interpret the words *al-cam' bayna 'l-mutašābihāt* as 'bringing together ambiguous words' (which would mean that the figure is identical to Šafīyyaddīn al-Ḥillī's *tawciḥ*), since the *murā'āt an-naẓir* is defined by other authors as adapting one theme or one word to another (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-102; Šafīyyaddīn al-Ḥillī, *Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-Badi'iyya*, Cairo, 1317, p. 21).

carrada, *al-muwarrā bihī*, and *lawāzim*, which are commonly found in the classical handbooks. In connection with the term *lawāzim* we may observe that Badraddīn is apparently the first author to use this term. He seems to distinguish between the presence (or absence) of *lawāzim*, 'attributes', and the *mulā'ama*, the 'relationship' that exists between the *tawriya* word and a certain element in its context.²⁶ Moreover, he analyzes the two lines by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a and, unlike his predecessor Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣba', fully recognizes that there is a mutual *tarṣīḥ* in these lines. It is surprising therefore that he does not recognize this mutual *tarṣīḥ* in the case of the lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ beginning with *Ka-anna Nisāna (Kānūna)* ... For, as we have seen in the Introduction to this study, there can be no doubt that the word *gazāla* in the first hemistich of the second line and the two words *cady* and *ḥamal* in the second hemistich support each other's *tawriya* through the fact that each of them is used both as the name of an animal and as a term in astronomy. The error is repeated by Şafadī and others.

To end the list of those who preceded Şafadī in discussing the *tawriya*, we have to deal briefly with two of his older contemporaries, Xaṭīb Dimašq al-Qazwīnī and Şafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī, the first of whom died in 739 and the second in 749, 750, or 752.

Al-Xaṭīb al-Qazwīnī²⁷ wrote a digest of Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* by the name of *Talxīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, and a second work, which, as he himself explains, may serve as a commentary on the first, and which he called *al-Idāḥ fi 'Ulūm al-Balāḡa*. Both works contain chapters on the *tawciḥ*, the *istixdām*, and the *tawriya*. The chapters on the *tawciḥ* and the *istixdām* do not contain anything of direct importance for our subject, and only the chapters on the *tawriya* deserve to be mentioned here. We can limit ourselves, however, to the chapter in the *Idāḥ*,²⁸ since the chapter in the *Talxīṣ* only gives the same statements in an abbreviated form. Qazwīnī, like his predecessor, Badraddīn b. Mālik, distinguishes two types of *tawriya*, the *tawriya mucarrada* and the

²⁶ This appears from the fact that Badraddīn uses the lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ to illustrate the first as well as the second of his four types of *tawriya*. It is curious that he does not seem to realize that *ağḍaynā*, 'we closed [our eyelids]', points to one of the attributes of the eyelids, i.e., the possibility of closing them over the eyes. For *tawriya murašṣaha bi-lafẓayni kullun minhumā yurašṣihu ṣāhibahū lahā* (the name of the fourth type of *tawriya*), the Süleymaniye MS reads *tawriya 'an ṣay'ayni bi lafẓayni kullun minhumā murašṣihun ṣāhibahū lahā*.

²⁷ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 22, S II, p. 15.

²⁸ The chapter is found in vol. IV, pp. 322–326 of the 1317–1319 Cairo edition of commentaries on the *Talxīṣ (Šurūḥ at-Talxīṣ)* and in Vol. VI, pp. 39–42 of the separate edition of the *Idāḥ* by 'Abdalmun'im Xafācī, Cairo, 1950.

tawriya muraşşaha, the first of which he defines as a *tawriya* which is not connected with 'something related to the hiding, that is, the nearer sense' (*şay'an yulâ'imu 'l-muwarnâ bihi a'ni 'l-ma'na 'l-qarib*) and the second as a *tawriya* which has such an element. Like his predecessor he is unaware of the fact that the two lines by the Qâdî 'Iyâd beginning with *Ka-anna Nisâna (Kânûna)* ..., contain three *tawriyas* which support each other.²⁹ His classification of this example, however, is different; he considers it a *tawriya muraşşaha* in which the *tawriya* word is followed by 'something related to the hiding sense'. He does not specify which element in the sentence he means by this, but there can be no doubt that he has in mind the words *cady* and *hamal*. Qazwîni, like Badraddîn before him, explains the two lines by Yahyâ b. Manşûr al-Ḥanafî beginning with *Fa-lammâ na'at 'annâ* ... as an example of the *tawriya muraşşaha* in which the *tawriya* word is preceded by an element adapted to the 'hiding signification'. The chapter also gives two Koranic examples. The first of these, Koran XX, 4, we have met already several times. It is listed (Qazwîni seems to be the first to attempt a classification of Koranic examples) as a *tawriya mucarrada*. The second, which, as far as I know, is not quoted as an example of the *tawriya* in any earlier source, is Koran LI, 47: *wa-'s-samâ'a banaynâhâ bi-aydin wa-innâ la-mûsi'ûna*, "And We have built the heaven with might and We surely make [it] spacious", of which the more obvious sense, as Qazwîni apparently understands it, is: "And We have built the heaven with [Our] hands", etc. (*aydin* in *bi-aydin* can be taken both as a broken plural of the word *yad*, 'hand', and as a verbal noun of the root, 'y-d). Qazwîni considers this passage as an example of the *tawriya muraşşaha* and states that in this case the 'hiding sense' of the *tawriya* word is connected with an element in the sentence that precedes it. He does not make clear what this element is, but there can be no doubt that he has in mind the word *banaynâ*, 'we have built', which strongly suggests taking the word *bi-aydin* in the sense of 'with [our] hands'. It is curious, therefore, that he does not interpret the example from Koran XX, 4: *ar-Raḥmânu 'ala 'l-'arşi 'stawâ*, "The Merciful has seated Himself firmly on His Throne", in the same way. For if we decide to interpret the passage as a *tawriya*, the words *'ala 'l-'arşi*, 'on

²⁹ According to Bahâ'addîn as-Subkî (see, *Şurûḥ at-Talxiş*, IV, p. 326 and below, pp. 99–100), Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya, whom I have mentioned above (p. 27), considered each of the words *ğazâla*, *cady*, and *hamal* as a separate *tawriya mucarrada*. Taftâzânî (see, *aş-Şarḥ al-Muṭawwal 'alâ Talxiş al-Miftâḥ*, Istanbul 1330, p. 425 and below, pp. 100–101) correctly explains that there is a mutual *tarâṣih* in these lines.

the Throne', support the more obvious sense of *istawā*. Qazwīnī, however, considers this example as a *tawriya mucarrada*, though as in the case of the other Koranic example, he does not care to explain his motives.

Towards the end of the chapter we find a note on the 'false opinion' (*tawahhum*) that is created in the mind of the hearer by the use of *tawriyas*. This note has clearly been borrowed from 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī's *Asrār al-Balāga*. In the *Asrār al-Balāga*,³⁰ however, it is part of a discussion of the figure *cinās* or 'paronomasia', and its application to the *tawriya* seems to be Qazwīnī's own invention. The note states that the false opinion sometimes suggests itself so strongly that it almost becomes conviction (*i'tiqād*). This happens in the case of the line beginning with *Ḥamalnāhum ṭurran*... quoted by Sakkākī in the *Miftāḥ*. But sometimes, he says, it suggests itself less strongly and passes through the mind for only a short moment while one continues to be aware of the actual situation (*yacrī fi 'l-xāṭiri wa-anta ta'rifu ḥālahū*), as in the case of the two lines by Ibn ar-Rabī' beginning with *Lawla 't taṭayyuru*... Since Qazwīnī does not offer any further explanation it is impossible to follow his reasoning. Comparing this passage with the passage in the *Asrār al-Balāga* (discussing this last passage here would require too much space), I think it possible that what Qazwīnī has in mind is the following: In the case of the first example the context is so well adapted to the word *duhm* in the sense of 'black horses' that the hearer is inclined to accept this sense rather than the sense of 'fetters' which is actually intended by the poet. In the case of the second example, the context makes it impossible to take *mandūb* in the sense of 'a thing recommended by religious law' (for which, in the Introduction to this book, I substituted the translation 'one asked to serve'), so that this sense occurs to the mind only for a short moment. This means, in other words, that in the case of the first example the poet conceals his intentions more carefully than in the case of the second. The chapter on the *tawriya* in the *Idāh* ends with a repetition of Sakkākī's statement concerning dubious passages in the Koran (see above, pp. 26-27 and 46).

The second of Şafadī's older contemporaries, Şafīyyaddīn al-Ḥillī,³¹ composed a panegyrical poem on the Prophet Muḥammad containing no less than 150 rhetorical figures. On this poem he himself wrote a commentary in which he deals at some length with the theory

³⁰ See Curcānī, *Asrār al-Balāga*, ed. Ritter, p. 19 (= p. 36 of Ritter's German translation).

³¹ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 159, S II, p. 199.

of these figures. This commentary, which carries the title *Şarḥ al-Qaṣida al-Badī'iyya* and which was printed in Cairo in 1317, contains chapters on the *ibhām* (pp. 12–13), the *tawcih* (p. 20), the *tawriya* (pp. 22 to 23), and the *tawhīm* (pp. 43–44). The chapter on the *tawriya* contains an interesting example of what Şafīyyaddīn considers to be a *tawriya* in the *Ḥadīt: la yazālu 'l-manāmu ṭā'iran ḥattā yuqaṣṣa fa-idā quṣṣa waqa'a*, "The dream does not cease to be unsettled as to its result till it has been told, but when it has been told it takes effect". The word *yuqaṣṣa* in this example one would at first believe to have been derived from the verb *qaṣṣa* in the sense of 'clipping the wings of a bird', and, like the words *ṭā'iran*, 'flying', and *waqa'a*, 'alights', to have been used in a figurative sense of a dream of which the outcome is still uncertain. But as soon as one comes to think of the belief held by the Arabs that the consequences of a dream become certain only after the dream has been told to others,³² one realizes that *yuqaṣṣa* is derived from *qaṣṣa* in the sense of 'to tell' and that *ṭā'iran* and *waqa'a* should be interpreted as meaning 'unsettled' and 'taking effect'. (Şafīyyaddīn considers these two words as containing a second and a third *tawriya*.)

Also interesting is Şafīyyaddīn's definition of the figure. For unlike his predecessors, Şafīyyaddīn clearly emphasizes the importance of the context as a means of suggesting both the first and the second meaning of the *tawriya* word, so that the hearer's attention is directed first to one and then to the other meaning. This definition runs as follows: "The *tawriya*, also called *ihām*. This figure is the result of the author bringing [into his composition] a word admitting of two meanings, one near and the other far. He first uses words which suggest the nearer meaning, but then brings in an element connected [with the farther meaning] (*qarīna*), by which it becomes clear that he means this farther meaning". The only poetical example quoted in this chapter (apart from the line in Şafīyyaddīn's *qaṣida* to which the chapter is a commentary),³³ the line beginning with *ḥamalnāhum ṭurran 'ala 'd-duhmi...*, clearly illustrates this technique, since the poet, as we have already pointed out earlier, first suggests taking *duhm* in the sense of 'black horses' and then makes clear to the hearer, by the ironical *xala'nā 'alayhim bi-ṭ-ṭi-āni malābisa*, that the word *ḥamalnā* and consequently also the word

³² See the variant of this tradition mentioned in Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v., ṭ-y-r: *ar-ru'yā 'alā ricli ṭā'irin mā lam tu'abbar*, "A dream is unsettled as to its result, or final sequel, while it is not interpreted", and Lane's explanation of this tradition.

³³ This somewhat obscure example is criticized by 'Abdalḡanī an-Nābulusī; see below, p. 104.

duhm have to be interpreted in a different way. On the other hand the figure is not so well illustrated by the example in the *Ḥadīṭ* which I have quoted above and which, as we have seen, depends on the hearer being familiar with an ancient superstition, and on the manifest absurdity of the statement as a whole if one interprets *yūqaṣṣa*, *tā'iran*, and *waqa'a* according to their "nearer" meanings. Finally we should note that Şafiyaddīn, like his predecessor Sakkākī whose definition he seems to paraphrase, does not attempt to distinguish between different types of *tawriya*.

The chapters on the *tawcīh* and the *tawhīm* are not important enough for our purpose to be discussed here in detail. Nor do I think it necessary to deal with the chapter on the *ibhām*, which has no material of importance for our subject. We should only keep in mind that by the term *tawcīh* Şafiyaddīn does not understand the same thing as his predecessors, but a figure which, as far as I know, is not discussed in any earlier source, and consequently may be one for which he himself was the first to establish a definition. For whereas with some earlier and later authors the term means omitting the necessary specification in the case of a statement which has only a relative force, with Şafiyaddīn al-Ḥillī it means the use of a sequence of substantives or adjectives that have both a "common" and a technical meaning, or are used both as common nouns and as proper names. The fact that the hearer finds a number of such words combined in the same sentence makes him believe for a moment that these words are used as technical terms or as proper names, as the case may be.³⁴ I have already quoted an example of this figure in the Introduction to this study and have pointed out there that some examples of the *tawriya* can also be interpreted as examples of Şafiyaddīn's *tawcīh*, because they are, like Şafiyaddīn's examples, based on the juxtaposition of words that have both a "common" and a technical sense and, moreover, because the context does not admit of a double interpretation of these words. Şafiyaddīn seems to be aware of this and observes (p. 23) that some people consider the *tawcīh* to be identical with the *tawriya*. The difference between the two figures, he says, is that the *tawcīh* is limited to words that have a technical meaning, whereas the *tawriya* is not, and that unlike the *tawriya*, the *tawcīh* cannot depend on a single word with a double meaning, but has to depend on a sequence of such

³⁴ Şafiyaddīn's definition of the *tawcīh* is quoted in the *Xizānat al-Adab* of Ibn Ḥicca (Cairo, 1304, p. 136). For اشتراط حقيقي in the above-mentioned Cairo edition of the *Badi'iyya* (p. 20, l. 7) I read, following the *Xizāna*, اشتراك حقيقي.

words. Şafıyyaddîn also explains (p. 44) the difference between the *tawhîm at-tawriya* and the *tawriya* itself. The *tawriya*, he says, suggests two correct interpretations, one near and one far (*wachayni şaḥiḥayni qarīban wa-ba'īdan*), whereas the *tawhîm at-tawriya* suggests one that is correct and another that is false (*fāsid*) (this would mean that in the case of the *tawriya* the context has, in Şafıyyaddîn's opinion, to admit of both interpretations of the *tawriya* word), and that the *tawriya* is purposely sought by the author while the *tawhîm at-tawriya* is only the result of a wrong assumption on the part of the hearer.

4. THE AUTOGRAPH OF ŞAFADÎ'S *FADD AL-XITÂM*

We now come to the main object of our study, the *Fadd al-Xitâm* 'an *at-Tawriya wa-'l-Istixdâm* of Şalâhaddîn Xalîl b. Aybak aş-Şafadî (b. 696 or 697; d. 764).¹ As I stated in the Introduction to this study, the work has not been edited and has probably never been carefully studied. In contemporary literature I know of no references to the book other than those found in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* and Krenkow's article AL-ŞAFADÎ in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*: Brockelmann indicates only the manuscripts that are known to him; Krenkow gives a short characterization based, it seems, only on the title. Nor have I found a discussion of the work in any of the numerous biographies of Şafadî, though the title is often quoted.²

The MS Köprülü 1351 of the *Fadd al-Xitâm*, which has been used in preparing this study, was undoubtedly written by Şafadî himself. Its characteristics are the following: black leather binding; yellowish, sometimes reddish paper, 15 × 21 cm.; black ink except for the beginnings of new paragraphs which are in red (the titles of new chapters are in black and in a bolder handwriting); carefully pointed and vocalized, beautiful *nasxî* calligraphy typical of other autographs of Şafadî,³

¹ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 31, S II, p. 27; *Enc. of Islam*, art. AL-ŞAFADÎ.

² Şafadî mentions the work himself in his commentary on Tuğrâ'î's *Lâmiyyat al-'Acam* (Cairo 1305, II, p. 17) and in his *Nuşrat at-Tâ'ir 'ala 'l-Maṭal as-Sâ'ir* (MS Leiden Or. 868), p. 233.

³ In order to prove with absolute certainty that the MS is in Şafadî's handwriting we would have to compare it more carefully with other specimens (see the references quoted below, p. 67, note 10, and S. Munajjed, *Le manuscrit arabe*, Tome 1, plate 51). I think, however, that the clear resemblance of the handwriting of the manuscript to photographs of other specimens, together with the *samâ'*-notes, which will be discussed later, give sufficient proof. If we were to consider the theoretical possibility that the whole manuscript, including the *samâ'*-notes, is a fake, we would have to admit that the forger had extraordinary capacities both as a calligrapher and as a scholar, as is shown by the rapid, yet firm and clear handwriting, and by the flawless pointing and vocalization.

13 lines to the page. The MS has been rebound and the pages are in the wrong order, the correct order of the first 23 folios being: 1-8, 15-16, 11-14, 9-10, 17-23. The order of the other pages of the manuscript seems to be correct.⁴ Otherwise the manuscript is in a very good state of preservation. It was never finished, as appears from the fact that a number of pages have been left partially or wholly blank.⁵ In some places the text ends abruptly, sometimes after the words *wa-qultu* or some similar expression. On fol. 67a (in the beginning of the chapter that contains the quotations ending in the rhyme-consonant *hamza*, in the illustrative section of the book) two lines of poetry seem to have been erased. There are some *balâğ*-notes in the margins of the MS which give the names of Muḥammad b. Sanad and as-Surramarri, two students of Şafadî whose names appear also in the *samâ'*-notes of the manuscript.

That the manuscript is Şafadî's autograph appears certain not only from its graphic characteristics, but also from the *samâ'*-notes. These *samâ'*-notes are found both at the beginning and at the end of the text. I will discuss them in chronological order, and give the complete text of one of them:

1. On the verso of the first of two unnumbered folios which precede the title-page, we find a note in which Şafadî states that in the year 746 a student of his, a certain Bahâ'addîn Abû 'Abdallâh al-Ḥusayn b. Tâcaddîn 'Alî b. Abi 'l-Xayr b. Muḥammad at-Tibrizî (?) al-Mawşilî al-Ḥanbalî, read the book from a copy he had previously taken from Şafadî's autograph. While Bahâ'addîn was reading, Şafadî corrected his student's text from the autograph. The final lecture on the book took place in Damascus on the fifteenth of Şawwâl, and Bahâ'addîn obtained an *icâza* from Şafadî not only for the *Fadd al-Xitâm* but also for all the other works which Şafadî had authority to transmit. The note shows Şafadî's handwriting and bears his signature. I have not been able to identify this Bahâ'addîn with certainty. He may be identical with a scholar by the name of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Abi Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Xayr al-Mawşilî al-Ḥanbalî who, according to Ibn Ḥacar al-'Asqalânî (*ad-Durar al-Kâmina*, II, p. 59) and Ibn al-'Imâd (*Şaḡarât ad-Dahab*, VI, p. 187), lived in Damascus and died in 759.

⁴ I established the correct order of the first 23 folios with the help of a microfilm of the first 34 folios of the MS Escorial 430 of the *Fadd al-Xitâm*, which cover fols. 1-23 in the Köprülü MS. As the remaining pages seemed to be in good order I did not think it necessary to check the whole MS in the same way.

⁵ According to Ibn al-'Imâd, *Şaḡarât ad-Dahab*, VI, p. 201, Şafadî left some of his works uncompleted. This statement seems to have been taken from Şafadî's autobiography.

2. On the recto of the second of the two unnumbered folios we find another note in the handwriting of Şafadī, which, since it contains the name of a famous scholar, is interesting enough to be reproduced in full:

قرأ المولى السيد المالك المخدم حجة الكتاب إمام المرسلين قدوة الناظمين / مالك
أزمة الإنشاء حسنة الأيام أعجوبة الزمان أوجد الافاضل جامع اشتات / الفنون
كاتب الأسرار الشريفة يمين الملوك والسلطين نسيب أمير المؤمنين القاضي
شهاب الدين / أبو العباس أحمد بن الصاحب المدبر الرئيس القاضي محيى
الدين أبى المعالى محيى بن فضل الله القرشى العمرى / العدوى الشافعى بسط
الله ظلاله وبلغه فى الدارين آماله من أول هذا الكتاب المسمى / بفض
الختام عن التورية والاستخدام الى آخر النتيجة قراءة أطربنى ساعها فهزت /
عطنى ووفرت برى منه ولطفى وكنت بين يديه جالساً فأحلتنى على فرق
الفرقدين / برغم أننى لأنه إمام هذه الصناعة فى عصره وفريد شامه ومصره وأنا
بقراءة تصانيفه / أحق وتخيّل له ألطف فى الآداب من تخيّل وأدق ولكنه أراد ان
يُحلّى عطلى ويُصلح / خطلى وقد أجزته ان اقتضى رأيه ذلك جميع رواية
هذا الكتاب وجميع ما صنّفه وما يجوز / لى تسميعه وكانت القراءة بداره
الصغرى المعروفة بإنشاء عمه الصاحب الرئيس شرف الدين / عبد الوهاب بن
فضل الله فى شهر ربيع الاول سنة سبع وأربعين وسبعائة وكتب الفقير الى
الله / خليل بن أيبك بن عبد الله الصفدى الشافعى حامدا لله ومصلياً على
نبيه ومسلماً

The Šihābaddīn mentioned in this note, whose company was so highly esteemed by Şafadī, can be no other than the famous Šihābaddīn b. Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmari (d. 749),⁶ the author of the *Kitāb Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. As appears from this note the lectures took place in a house which had been built by Šihābaddīn's uncle, Šarafaddīn ʿAbdalwahhāb.⁷ It is interesting to note that Šihābaddīn who, as a secretary of the Mameluke Sultan an-Nāṣir, had fallen into disgrace, and, though restored to favor and appointed in Damascus in 741, had been replaced by this brother Badraddīn as early as 743, is still called here, in 747, by what appears to be his full title.

3. The remaining *samāʿ*-notes in the manuscript have been written

⁶ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 141, S II, p. 175.

⁷ This uncle had died in 717; see Hartmann in *ZDMG*, LXX, p. 1.

and signed by others. The first of these appears on the verso of the second unnumbered folio preceding the text. It is in the hand of a certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Sanad b. Tamīm al-Laxmī, who states that he studied the book under its author in the year 755 while one of the author's children, Badraddīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, was present. The first three lectures were also attended by a certain Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Šāba Ra'suhū al-Mağribī (?), whom I have not been able to identify. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, on the other hand, appears to have been a well-known scholar. His name is mentioned both by Ibn Ḥacar al-'Asqalānī (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 270-271) and Ibn al-'Imād (*op. cit.*, VI, p. 326). Al-'Asqalānī states that he saw the autograph of a supplement to Dahabī's *Kitāb al-'Ibar*⁸ composed by this Muḥammad b. Mūsā, and that this supplement did not reach farther than the year 780, although Muḥammad b. Mūsā lived till the year 792. The note further states that the last lecture took place on the fifth of Cumādā I.

4. At the end of the manuscript there are two more notes covering fols. 107a-109a, and 110a-b.⁹ The note covering fols. 107a-109a is in the handwriting of one 'Abdarraḥmān b. al-Xaḍir b. 'Abdarraḥmān al-Bākri as-Sincārī, who states that in the year 757 he studied the book under its author, and that the last of the lectures took place on the eleventh of Du 'l-Qa'da at the northern wall of the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus. The lectures were also attended by Nūraddīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Faṭḥ al-Mundirī al-Ḥanafī known as Ibn al-Maqṣūṣ, and Nūraddīn's brother, Badraddīn Muḥammad; by Šamsaddīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad aš-Šāfi'ī known as Ibn al-Mālikī (who missed some of the lectures); by two sons of Şafadī, Badraddīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad (whom we have met in the preceding note) and Tācaddīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad; and by a slave of Şafadī by the name of Asanbuḡā b. 'Abdallāh at-Turkī. Each student who had attended these lectures obtained an *icāza* not only for the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*, but also for other works composed by Şafadī, and for all works which Şafadī had authority to transmit.

I have not been able to identify any of these students with certainty. Ibn Ḥacar al-'Asqalānī (*op. cit.*, II, p. 328) mentions one 'Abdarraḥmān b. al-Xaḍir b. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus b. 'Uṭmān as-S-n-c-'-w-y, whose name, if we substitute *rā'* for *wāw* in the *nisba* (an easy alteration), would be identical with the name of the scholar who

⁸ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 47, S II, p. 46.

⁹ These two last notes contain poems in praise of the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* and its author.

wrote the note. But Ibn Ḥacar states that this scholar died in 744, so that if we were to identify him with the 'Abdarrahmān as-Sincārī of the *samā'*-note we would have to assume that the date given by Ibn Ḥacar is not correct.

5. The last certificate, which covers fol. 110a and b, is in the handwriting of one Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad as-Surramarrī, who states that in the year 761 he studied the book under its author. The lectures were again attended by the two sons of Şafadī and his slave, and by a son of as-Surramarrī by the name of Ibrāhīm. They took place in the northern portico of the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus and ended on the seventeenth of Racab. Yūsuf as-Surramarrī is a well-known author who wrote works dealing with *fiqh*, *ḥadīṡ*, grammar, and some other subjects, the existing manuscripts of which are mentioned in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (G II, p. 162, S II, p. 204). His biography is found in the *Durar al-Kāmina* of Ibn Ḥacar al-'Asqalānī (IV, p. 473), the *Şaḍarāt aḍ-Ḍahab* of Ibn al-'Imād (VI, p. 249) and the *Buġyat al-Wu'āt* of Suyūṡī (p. 423). He died in 776 over 80 years of age.¹⁰

Of the numerous other existing manuscripts of the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* I have seen only part of the MS Escorial 430 and the MS Hüseyin Çelebi 971, Genel Kitaplık, Bursa. The Escorial manuscript was written,

¹⁰ Some of the names mentioned in the above reading-certificates occur also in certificates by Şafadī found in other manuscripts. The following is a list of these manuscripts as far as they are known to me. The certificates all show the handwriting and the signature of Şafadī:

1. MS Çorum, Genel Kitaplık 1905 (Şafadī, *Ġawāmiḍ aş-Şahāh*), fol. 1b. The *samā'*-note contains the names of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, and Abū Bakr Muḥammad, the two sons of Şafadī, the names of two daughters of Şafadī, and the name of one 'Izzad-dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Bahā'addīn al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṡilī al-Ḥanbalī, probably a son of the Bahā'addīn al-Mawṡilī we have met in the first *samā'*-note in the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*. It is dated the 27th of Ramaḍān, 757 (see A. Ateş, *Çorum ve Yozgat kütüphanelerinden bazı mühim Arapça yazmalar, İslām İlimleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, I, p. 16).

2. MS Escorial 1722 (Şafadī, *A'yān al-'Aşr wa-A'wān an-Naşr*), no. of the folio unknown to me. This *samā'*-note contains the names of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad and Abū Bakr Muḥammad, the two sons of Şafadī; the name of Asanbuġā, the slave of Şafadī; the name of Ibn al-Maqṡūş; and some other names. The note is dated 1 Rabi' II, 758 (see Şalāḥaddīn al-Munaccid, *Namāḍic min as-Samā'āt*, *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits arabes*, I, 2, p. 244; Şafadī, *Umarā' Dimaşq*, ed. Şalāḥaddīn al-Munaccid, Damascus, 1955, plate III).

3. MS Ayasofya 2968 (Şafadī, *A'yān al-'Aşr*, etc.), fol. 1b. This *samā'*-note contains the same names as the preceding, and is dated 16 Rabi' II, 758 (see H. Ritter, *Über einige Werke des ... Şafadī*, RSO XII, p. 84).

4. MS Topkapı Sarayı, Sultan Ahmet III 2418 (Şafadī, *Taşhīḥ at-Taşhīf*), p. 12. This *samā'*-note contains the names of the two sons of Şafadī and of his slave. My friend Prof. Muḥammad b. Tāwīt at-Ṭancī kindly brought this manuscript to my attention.

according to Derenbourg's description in his catalogue of Escorial manuscripts, in the year 744, a fact which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Fadḍ al-Xitām*. My microfilm of this manuscript covers only fols. 1–34, and I do not know whether the colophon contains anything of interest. The first 34 folios contain some blank spaces which correspond to blank spaces in the autograph.

The MS Hüseyin Çelebi 971 is a *macmū'a* which contains on fol. 3a–97b the text of the *Fadḍ al-Xitām*, and on fols. 98a–142b the text of the *Kitāb al-Maṭāliḥ wa-'l-Maṭānī* of Şafīyyaddīn al-Ḥillī.¹¹ The text of the *Fadḍ al-Xitām* shows blank spaces, which (as far as I can judge from the notes I took five years ago) correspond to those in the autograph. The text of the *Kitāb al-Maṭāliḥ* is followed by a number of interesting notes which cover fols. 143a–148b. Among these notes there is one reading certificate referring to the *Kitāb al-Maṭāliḥ* and dated 22nd of Rabī' I, 741. As far as I can remember, however, the manuscript itself is not old, and the reading-certificate must have been copied, together with the two texts, from an older manuscript.

¹¹ See, *GAL*, S II, p. 200.

5. THE CONTENTS OF THE THEORETICAL SECTION OF ŞAFADĪ'S *FADḌ AL-XITĀM*

I shall now try to give a summary of the theoretical section of Şafadī's *Fadḍ al-Xitām*. Not everything we find in this theoretical section is important. Moreover Şafadī repeats a number of statements by authors whom I have discussed earlier in this book. It will therefore be necessary to deal very briefly with a number of passages, as a result of which this summary will sometimes be no more than a mere table of contents. I trust, however, that this will not be a serious disadvantage to those who are interested in the work, since photographs, even of sections of manuscripts, can nowadays be easily obtained. An edition of the complete work, if it be ever undertaken, should, I think, be closely based on the manuscript used in composing this summary. As I explained in the preceding section, this manuscript is beautifully written and carefully pointed and vocalized. Moreover, there can be no doubt that it is Şafadī's autograph, which means that the annotation can probably be limited to references needed for identifying the verse and prose quotations.

Summary:

Fols. 1b-2a: Doxology.

Fol. 2b: The beauty of the Arabic language and its poetry.

Fols. 3a-6a: The *tawriya* and the *istixdām* are among the least frequent of the various figures of speech, since only very gifted authors can use them. Among these we find, for instance, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who in speaking of Aṣ'at b. Qays used the following *tawriya*: *wa-hāḍā kāna abūhu yaḥūku 'š-šimāla bi-'l-yamīn*.¹ The earliest poets never used any of the figures of speech consciously, and the Umayyad and early Abbasid poets used them with success only occasionally. One may find, it is true, examples of the use of the *tawriya* in the poems of Mutanabbī

¹ See above, pp. 53 and 56.

and even in those of Abū Nuwās; and Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī used some obscure and far-fetched *tawriyas* in his poems. But for elegant examples of the figure one has to go to poets who lived much later, such as Ibn as-Sā'atī (d. 604)² and Taqiyyaddīn as-Sarūcī (627–693)³ whose use of the figure is clearly superior to that of Abu 'l-'Alā'. To illustrate the use of the *tawriya* by the early poets, Şafadī quotes the following two lines by Mutanabbī:

بِرَغْمِ شَيْبٍ فَارِقَ السَّيْفِ كَفَّهُ
وَكَاَنَا عَلَى الْعَلَاتِ يَصْطَحِبَانِ
كَأَنَّ رِقَابَ النَّاسِ قَالَتْ لَسَيْفِهِ
رَفِيقُكَ قَيْسِيٌّ وَأَنْتَ يَمَانِيٌّ

"In spite of Šabīb whose sword forsook his hand, though formerly they used to keep company under all circumstances/It is as though the necks of people had said to his sword: 'Thy comrade is from Qays, but thou art from the Yemen'". Şafadī refers his readers to the commentators of the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī who, he says, explain the story connected with the poem.⁴ (He apparently means to say that they explain the *tawriya* in this poem as depending on the word *yamānī*. *Yamānī* is an adjective meaning 'Yemenite', and a well-known epithet of swords of good quality. At the same time, however, it can mean 'one of Yemenite descent'. Since in the early days of Islam the Yemenites were continuously at variance with the descendants of Qays, saying that the man is from Qays and his sword from Yemen not only explains their respective origins, but also the fact that they became separated.)

Şafadī next quotes from a poem by Abū Nuwās:

فَتَنَّتْ قَلْبِي مُحَبَّةٌ * وَجَهٌ بِهَا بِالْحُسْنِ مُنْتَقِبٌ

"An object of love whose face is veiled by beauty has afflicted my heart".⁵ He adds that a sound critic would never believe that the poet purposely put a *tawriya* in this line. For Abū Nuwās is not known to

² See, *GAL*, G I, p. 256, S I, p. 456.

³ These dates are given in a note on the margin in Şafadī's own handwriting.

⁴ *Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici (with the commentary of Wāhidī), pp. 672–673; *idem*, Cairo, 1956 (with the commentary of 'Ukbarī), IV, p. 243; *idem*, ed. Yāzici, p. 512; *idem*, ed. 'Abdalwahhāb 'Azzām, p. 472. The two lines are quoted by Ibn al-Aṭīr (*Maṭal*, II, p. 216) as an example of the *muḡālaṭa ma'nawīyya* (see above, pp. 46ff).

⁵ *Dīwān*, ed. A.A. al-Ġazālī (Cairo, 1953), p. 239, with the variant *muḥaccabatun*; Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb aṣ-Šinā'atayn* (Cairo, 1952), p. 25, with the variant *muḥaccabatun bi-ridā'i l-ḥusnī*.

have been interested in the figure, and may even have avoided it. Şafadī goes on to say that he quoted the line to a number of eminent people with whom he used to discuss literature, and that some of them discovered the “witticism” (*nukta*) though others did not. Ibn Ḥicca, who frequently borrows from Şafadī, apparently did not understand the *tawriya* either. For in his *Kašf al-Liṭām*⁶ and in the chapter on the *tawriya* of his *Xizānat al-Adab*⁷ he simply repeats the passage from the *Fadḍ al-Xitām* without giving any comment. It is possible that Şafadī wishes to give to the word *muḥabbaba* the double sense of ‘object of love’ and ‘one covered with pimples’, deriving the latter sense from the fifth verbal form, *taḥabbaba*, ‘[the skin] broke out with pimples’, and from the substantive *ḥabb*, ‘pimples’, ‘pustules’.⁸

As an example of a *tawriya* in the poetry of Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, Şafadī quotes the line beginning with *iḏā şadaqa ‘l-caddu* ..., which we have met earlier in this book while discussing the *Ḥadā’iq as-Sihr* of Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāt.⁹ The following line by Ibn as-Sā‘ātī compares favorably, Şafadī thinks, with this unsuccessful attempt by Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī:

مُخْجِلَةٌ بِنْتَ الْحَبَابِ وَجَنَةٌ * لَتَعَسَ جَدِّي وَلَيْهِ بِخَالِهَا

“A cheek makes the wine ashamed [by its redness], the mole of which made me loose my reason so that it became the ruin of my good fortune”,¹⁰ the second hemistich of which one would at first sight be inclined to translate: “... and the maternal uncle of which made me loose

⁶ P. 13.

⁷ Pp. 240–241; cf., however, note 8.

⁸ My interpretation is, I think, supported by the following two lines by Badraddīn Yūsuf b. Lu’lu’ [aḍ Ḍahabī] (d. 680), which contain a similar word-play. They appear on pp. 267–268 of Ibn Ḥicca’s *Xizāna*:

تَعَشَّقَتْهُ لَدُنَ الْقَوَامِ مُهَقِّقَةً
شَهِيَّ اللَّمَى أَحْوَى الْمَرِاشِفِ أَشْنَبَا
وَقَالُوا بَدَا حَبُّ الشَّبَابِ بِوَجْهِهِ
فِيَا حُسْنَهُ وَجْهَهَا إِلَى مُحِبِّبَا

Ibn Ḥicca refers his readers to an earlier passage from which, he says, it appears that Abū Tammām was the first to invent the word-play found in this line. It is possible that Ibn Ḥicca by mistake substituted Abū Tammām for Abū Nuwās and that what he has in mind is the above quotation from the *Fadḍ al-Xitām*.

⁹ See above, p. 31.

¹⁰ *Diwān*, ed. Anīs al-Maḡdisī (Beirut, 1938), I, p. 265.

my reason so that it became the ruin of my grandfather".¹¹ He finds that this line shows a more subtle sense than the line by Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarri, though the first half (of the second hemistich?) is somewhat clumsy. Better still, he thinks, are the following two lines by Taqiy-yaddīn as-Sarūcī:

فِي الْجَانِبِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنْ خَدِّهَا
نُقْطَةُ مِسْكِ أَشْتَهَى شَمَهَا
حَسِبْتُهُ لَمَّا بَدَأَ خَالَهَا
وَجَدْتُهُ مِنْ حُسْنِهِ عَمَهَا

"On the right side of her cheek there was a spot of musk of which I desired to draw the odor. When first it appeared I thought it was her cheek-mole, but I found that its beauty affected her all over" (?), the second line of which one would at first sight be inclined to translate: "When it first appeared I thought it was her maternal uncle, but I found that it was so beautiful that it could be only her paternal uncle". By comparing these examples one discovers, he says, that the poets of later generations are more refined than those of older generations.

Fol. 6a-b. The Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596)¹¹ and the Qāḍī as-Saʿīd b. Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608)¹² were pioneers in the use of the figure. Şafadī illustrates this by three examples (all taken from the poems of the Qāḍī Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk):

أَمَّا وَاللَّهِ لَوْلَا خَوْفُ سُخْطِكَ
لَهَانَ عَلَى مَا أَلْقَى بَرَهْطِكَ
مَلَكَتِ الْخَافَقَيْنِ فَتَنَّتِ عُجْبَا
وَلَيْسَ هُمَا سِوَى قَلْبِي وَقُرْطِكَ

"By God, if I were not afraid of thy anger, the things I had to bear on account of (?) thy people would be easy to support. Thou possessest the two *xāfiqs* (a name for 'East and West', but also a participle meaning 'the two fluttering ones') and conceit makes thee haughty, but they are naught but my heart and thy earrings". (Şafadī apparently considers this line to contain a *tawriya* in spite of the fact that the correct sense of the homonym is explained in the second hemistich.)

¹¹ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 316, S I, p. 549; *EI*, s. v.

¹² See, *GAL*, G I, p. 261, S I, p. 461.

وفى الحى من صيرتها نصب ناظرى
 فما أذنت فى نازل الشوق بالرفع
 تنبيه بفرع منه أصل بليتى
 ولم أر أصلا قط يعزى الى فرع

"In the tribe there is one whom I made the object of my eye, but she did not allow the misfortune of my longing [for her] to be removed. She boasts of her beautiful hair (or: branch) which is the root (origin) of my affliction, but I have never seen a root which is traced back to a branch".¹³

ليس إلا دمعى الذى من رأى جفنى رآه كأن دمعى هدى
 أنجم الدمع لا تغيب شروفا
 مع أنى رأيتها فى الغرب

"It is only my tears which make those who look at my eyelids think that tears are my eyelashes. The stars of [my] tears do not stop rising (lit. 'rising in the East') even though I have [already] seen them flowing abundantly (or: '[setting] in the West', since *ġarb* means both 'flow of tears' and 'West')".

On *Fols. 6b-8b*, and *15a-15b*. Şafadī states that from the time of the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and the Qāḍī Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk the figure has been applied with much success, and he quotes examples from poems by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Cazzār (d. 669 or 679),¹⁴ Sirācaddīn al-Warrāq (d. 695),¹⁵ Nāṣiraddīn al-Ḥasan b. an-Naqīb (d. 687),¹⁶ Nāṣiraddīn al-Ḥammāmī (d. 714),¹⁷ Šamsaddīn b. Dāniyāl (d. 710),¹⁸ and Muḥyiddīn b. 'Abd-azzāhir (d. 692),¹⁹ to prove this. These poets, as well as their predecessors, the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and the Qāḍī Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, lived in Egypt.

Fols. 15b-16b and *11a-13a*. Şafadī quotes lines from the poetry of Šarafaddīn 'Abdal'azīz al-Anṣārī (d. 661),²⁰ Muḥiraddīn Muḥammad

¹³ The poet perhaps also intends a *tawriya* in the words *nāzil* and *raf'* in the second hemistich of the first line, which would mean that this second hemistich could also be translated: "but she did not allow the love-lorn guest to be honored".

¹⁴ See, *GAL*, S I, p. 574.

¹⁵ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 267.

¹⁶ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 264, S I, p. 467.

¹⁷ See, Ibn Ḥicca, *Kašf al-Liṭām*, p. 58-59.

¹⁸ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 8, S II, p. 1.

¹⁹ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 318, S I, p. 551.

²⁰ See, *Kašf al-Liṭām*, p. 59.

b. Tamīm (d. 681),²¹ Badraddīn Yūsuf b. Lu'lu' ad-Dahabī (d. 680),²² Muḥyiddīn b. Qurnāş,²³ Şamsaddīn Muḥammad b. 'Afifaddīn at-Tilimsānī (d. 687 or 688),²⁴ and Sayfaddīn b. Qizil al-Muṣidd (d. 655 or 656)²⁵ to show that there were also poets in Syria who distinguished themselves in the use of the *tawriya*.

Fols. 13a-14b and 9a-10b. The poets of Egypt and Syria excelled in the use of this difficult figure. The reason for this is, according to Şafadī, that the water of the Nile in Egypt and the air of Syria are of excellent quality, so that poets living in these regions are endowed with both delicacy and intellect. He quotes arguments in support of this theory.

Fols. 10b and 17a-b. The preceding pages, Şafadī says, may serve as an introduction, and may give an idea of the refined taste and sharp intellect that are needed in order to construct *tawriyas*. He now outlines the chapters into which he intends to divide the rest of his work. There are to be two Prolegomena (*muqaddimatān*) and one Illustrative Section (*natica*). Each of the Prolegomena is to be divided into four chapters on the theory of the figure (*uṣūl*) and one complement (*tatimma*). The Illustrative Section will consist of alphabetically arranged examples of the *tawriya* and the *istixdām* composed by Şafadī himself.²⁶

Fols. 17b-21a. The first chapter of the first Prolegomenon. This chapter deals with the etymology of the term *tawriya*. Şafadī tries to prove that each of the six roots containing the radicals *wāw*, *rāʾ*, and *alif*, viz. *w-r-ʾ*, *w-ʾ-r*, *ʾ-w-r*, *r-ʾ-w*, *r-w-ʾ*, and *ʾ-r-w*, conveys the sense of 'passing from [the state of] being covered and hidden to [the state of] being clear and apparent' (*al-intiqāl minā 's-satr wa-'l-xafā' ila 'l-wudūh wa-'z-zuhūr*). In a note on the margin he explains that in these six roots he has substituted the *alif* for the *yāʾ* (he motivates this change, but his argument is not quite clear and it is possible that he left the passage unfinished).²⁷ The text goes on to explain Şafadī's theory in the case of the roots *w-r-ʾ*, *w-ʾ-r*, *ʾ-w-r*, *r-ʾ-w*, and *r-w-ʾ*. We do not learn how this

²¹ See, *Kaşf al-Liṭām*, p. 59.

²² See, *Kaşf al-Liṭām*, p. 59.

²³ I have not come across any reference to this poet.

²⁴ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 258, S I, p. 458.

²⁵ See, *Kaşf al-Liṭām*, p. 59; Ibn Şakir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-ḥamid (Cairo, 1951), II, p. 128.

²⁶ See Şafadī's *Cinān al-Cinās* (Istanbul, 1299) which shows a similar arrangement.

²⁷ This note has been incorporated in the text of the Escorial MS, fols. 24b-25a.

theory is to be explained in the case of the root 'r-w, as the text breaks off suddenly on fol. 20b after the heading of the relevant section. The rest of the page is left blank as it is also in the MS Escorial 430, fol. 28a. The chapter ends with a note (*tanbîh*) in which Şafadî explains that by this long excursion on the common meaning of the roots composed of the radicals *wāw*, *rā'*, and *alif* he hopes to justify his giving preference to the term *tawriya* over other terms used by the literary theorists.

Fols. 21a-26a. The second chapter of the first Prolegomenon. This chapter deals with the term *tawriya* and the terms which are used as synonymous with *tawriya*. Şafadî stresses the importance of choosing a correct term. He observes that Sakkākī in his *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm* uses the term *ihām* (see above, p. 45); and so, he says, does 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī in his *Dalā'il al-I'cāz*, "since Faxraddīn in his *Nihāya* uses the same expression". What Şafadî has in mind is apparently the chapter on the *ihām* in the *Nihāyat al-Īcāz fī Dirāyat al-I'cāz* of Faxraddīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606). I have discussed this work above (pp. 44-45) and have pointed out that it introduces itself as a digest of two works by 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī, the *Asrār al-Balāga* and the *Dalā'il al-I'cāz*. Şafadî therefore rightly assumes that Faxraddīn can have borrowed the term only from his predecessor, assuming with less reason that it should be sought in the *Dalā'il*. To the best of my knowledge, however, the term does not occur in either the *Dalā'il* or the *Asrār*. Şafadî goes on to say that the term *ihām* is closely related in meaning to the term *tawhīm*, since both are verbal nouns of causatives of the root w-h-m. [But neither of the two terms is quite proper.] By *tawhīm* the literary theorists (he apparently means the literary theorists of his own time) understand the occurrence of a word which wrongly suggests (*tuwah-him*) another word which is not actually meant by the author and could be accepted only if understood in a hyperbolic sense (*mubālaġatan*). The theorists illustrate this figure by Koran XXIV, 25: *Yawma'idīn yuwaffihimu 'llāhu dīnahumu 'l-ḥaqqā*, "On that day God will pay them their just due", where those who have no sound knowledge of the recitation of the Koran read *daynahumū* for *dīnahumū* (in which case the translation would be: "On that day God will fully pay them the debt which is due to them"). They base themselves on the word *yuwaffihimū*, which literally means 'will pay them to the full', and is therefore to be considered as a word related in meaning (*qarīna*) to 'debt'. This reading, Şafadî says, is not in accordance with the views of orthodox Islam which rejects the idea of a duty incumbent on

God.²⁸ Şafadī gives a number of other instances of wrong readings of the Koran, which, though wrong, could according to him be offered only by intelligent people. He mentions the case of Hammād ar-Rāwīya who, even though he knew most poems of the ancient Arabs by heart [and consequently must have had a sound knowledge of the Arabic language], nevertheless made mistakes in the recitation of the Koran. Şafadī also relates an anecdote which shows how an error in pointing (*taṣḥīf*) may give rise to a serious misunderstanding.

Having explained the correct sense of the term *tawhīm* (and having implicitly stated that this term may under no circumstances be used as synonymous with *tawriya*), Şafadī returns to the term *ihām*. He feels that this term is acceptable though he prefers the term *tawriya*. For *ihām*, being derived from *wahm*, 'wrong opinion', means 'inducing somebody into error'. *Tawriya*, on the other hand, means 'transferring the argument (*kalām*) from a place in front of the person one is addressing to a place behind one's back or behind this person's back'. (This interpretation of the term *tawriya* does not agree with the interpretation he has given in the preceding section.) The term *tawriya*, therefore, is closer (*axaṣṣ*) and more suitable (*ansab*).

The fourth term discussed by Şafadī is the term *tawcīh* which, he says, has been adopted by Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba'.²⁹ (We have seen that Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba' mentions the term *tawcīh* as synonymous with *tawriya*, but does not actually use it.) Şafadī points out that the term *tawcīh* should be explained, in accordance with its etymology, as meaning: 'to give two faces (or directions) to a thing'. If one gives two faces to one's speech, this implies that these two faces are at the same distance from the mind of the person one addresses without one being more in evidence than the other. The term *tawcīh*, he says, can therefore be applied only

²⁸ In a note on the margin Şafadī observes that Ḥarīrī gives a similar example in his *Durrat al-Gawwās* (see the edition of Thorbecke, p. 34 = p. 20 of the Istanbul edition of 1299):

كضرائر الحسناء قلن لوجنّها
حسدًا وبغيًا إنّه لدميم

"... Like the fellow-wives of a beautiful woman who say of her face out of jealousy and desire to wrong her: 'It is ugly!'" The last word in this line is read by some people as *ḍamīm*, 'vile', 'blameworthy', a reading which, as Şafadī apparently thinks, is suggested more readily by the context (cf., however, Xafācī's commentary in the Istanbul edition of the *Durra*, pp. 59–60). The poet is Abu 'l-Aswad ad-Du'ālī; see, *Dīwān*, ed. Ducaulī, p. 232; Suyūṭī, *Ṣarḥ Ṣawāhid al-Muḡnī* (Cairo, 1322), p. 194; Baḡdādī, *Xizāna*, III, p. 618.

²⁹ See above, p. 49.

to the line which Baššār addressed to his tailor and the lines addressed to Ma'mūn and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (see above p. 20), in which there is no difference respectively between blessing and curse and between eulogy and satire. In addition to these he quotes an anecdote which relates how the poet Mutanabbī, being asked on his arrival in Baghdad to give his opinion on the Ḥamdānids, replied: "They exhausted my mind, so that I came [here] to give it rest" (*kaddū xāṭirī faci'tu li-uriḥahū*). In these words, Şafadī points out, one can read both praise and blame,³⁰ and this is typical, he says, of Mutanabbī. For most of the poems he composed for the Ixšīdīd Kāfūr have the same character and can be explained both as eulogy and as satire. Three more examples follow, after which the text ends abruptly with the words *wa-lammā*, apparently the beginning of a new section. The rest of the page (fol. 24a) is blank (as it is on fol. 34a of the Escorial manuscript).³¹ The argument is resumed on fol. 24b, where Şafadī points out that Sakkākī and others distinguish the figure *tawcih* from the figure *tawriya*. He then quotes the definition of Sakkākī and the definition of Badraddīn b. an-Naḥwiyya in the *Šarḥ ad-Ḍaw'*,³² from which it appears that the *tawcih* necessarily depends on the use of an expression which admits of two opposite explanations. This, Şafadī says, is sometimes but not always the case with the *tawriya*. As an example of a combination of the *tawriya* and the *tawcih* he mentions the well-known tradition, *Du 'l-wachayni lā yakūnu 'inda 'llāhi waciḥan*, "The one who carries two faces will not be esteemed in the sight of God". (Şafadī apparently means to say that *waciḥ* means not only 'esteemed', but also 'two-faced', but this is not a good example of an expression admitting of two opposite explanations.)

He then quotes a number of examples of what he calls the *tawriya*

³⁰ For if they exhausted his mind this could also mean that there were so many great deeds to be mentioned that he was constantly occupied writing poems on them.

³¹ On the margin of fol. 23b Şafadī quotes an anecdote in which the expression *Ibnu 'ammika ḥādā xafifun 'ala 'l-qalb* ("This cousin of yours is supported easily by the mind", i.e., his company is pleasant, or: "This cousin of yours is the opposite of easy [to support]") is used to characterize an importunate visitor. By quoting this anecdote as a note to his observations on the *tawcih*, Şafadī seems to imply that this expression should be considered as a *tawcih*. This would mean that Şafadī, like Rašīdaddīn Waṭwāt before him (see above, p. 36), gave a wider interpretation to the term than other literary theorists, making it cover also cases of homonymy. We have met a similar play on the double meaning of the word *qalb* in the *istixdām* chapter of Usāma b. Munqid's *Baḍī'* (see above, pp. 30–31).

³² According to Ibn Ḥacar al-'Asqalānī (*Durar* IV, p. 286) Badraddīn b. an-Naḥwiyya wrote an abridgement of the *Miṣbāḥ* of Badraddīn b. Mālik under the title *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ* and also wrote a commentary to this abridgement which he called *Iṣfār aṣ-Šabāḥ*; see below, p. 79, note 34.

bi-'q-didd. That this *tawriya bi-'q-didd* is something different from the *tawriya* resulting in two contradictory interpretations (in other words the combination of the *tawriya* and the *tawcîh*) appears from the examples, among which we find the following two lines by Sirâcaddîn al-Warrâq:

وبى من البدو كحلاء الجفون بدت
 فى قومها كمهاة بين آساد
 فلو بدت لحسان الحضر قمن لها
 على الرؤوس وقطن الفضل للبادى

"With me is a girl from the Bedouins with black eyelids, who among her people appears like a wild cow between lions / If she would appear to the beautiful girls of the sedentary people, they would wait on her and say: 'The superiority belongs to the Bedouins' (or: to the one who has just appeared)". This line contains a *tawriya* depending on the last word in the second line, *al-bādî*, which signifies both 'the Bedouin' and 'the one who appears'. At the same time, however (and this is what Şafadî expressly states he has in mind), it contains an antithesis, since the word *al-bādî* is derived from *badāwa*, 'Bedouin life', so that the line contains mention of both Bedouin life and of its opposite, sedentary life, which is represented by the description of the village girls. This line therefore contains a combination of the two figures, *tawriya* and antithesis (*taḍādd*), not a combination of the *tawriya* and the *tawcîh*.³³ Şafadî observes that most *tawriyas* contain no antithesis and quotes a number of such *tawriyas*.

Having stated in a marginal note that some literary theorists use the term *ibhām* instead of the term *tawcîh*, Şafadî discusses still another term used as synonymous with *tawriya*, the term *taxyîl*. This term, he says, being etymologically derived from *xayāl*, 'dream-image', is also not suitable, since the author of a *tawriya* hides the meaning he has in mind, but does not mention anything unreal. A good definition of what is meant by *taxyîl*, he says, is given by Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya who defines it as "depicting the essence of a thing in such a way that one

³³ One may suggest that Şafadî confuses these two combinations. This would explain the use of the *ḥadiṯ* example in this context (this example shows a combination of *tawriya* and antithesis rather than a combination of *tawriya* and *tawcîh*, since 'not two-faced' is the opposite of 'two-faced') and also explain the fact that the examples of the *tawriya bi-'q-didd* are not introduced by a fresh definition. It is possible, however, that Şafadî intended to write in the blank space on the preceding page something which would have distinguished these two combinations from one another.

imagines it to have a visible form", illustrating this definition by two examples from the Koran (XXXIX, 67 and XXXVII, 62-63), and adding that "most dubious verses in the Koran belong to this category".³⁴ This passage, as I have explained above (p. 27), is interesting in that it shows that Zamaxšarî's interpretation of certain Koranic passages as instances of the *taxyîl* was not misunderstood by all critics. That is to say, they did not always interpret Zamaxšarî as taking these passages as *tawriyas*. We have also seen that the words, "most dubious verses in the Koran belong to this category", link the passage with similar passages in Faxraddîn ar-Râzî's *Nihāya* and Sakkākî's *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*. As a result there is reason to believe that Faxraddîn ar-Râzî, Sakkākî, and Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya drew from a common source, presumably a work on stylistic figures in the Koran which contained a chapter on the *taxyîl*. We have seen, furthermore, that Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya understood the meaning of this term correctly, though Faxraddîn ar-Râzî and Sakkākî confused it with the *ihām* (= *tawriya*). It is curious to note that on the next page (26b) Şafadî quotes Sakkākî's chapter on the *ihām* in full, which means that he now quotes Koran XXXIX, 67 as an example of the *ihām* without apparently being aware of the fact that on the preceding folio it appeared in the

³⁴ The passage runs as follows:

وليس التورية / كذلك بل المتكلم اراد الحقيقة يقينا وانما وراها اى سرها /
وما أولى هذه التسمية أعنى التخيل بما ذكره بدر الدين ابن / النحوية في
الضوء فقال هو تصوير حقيقة الشيء حتى يتوهم أنه / ذو صورة تشاهد
ومثله في الإسفار بقوله تعالى / وَالْأَرْضُ جَمِيعًا قَبْضَتُهُ يَوْمَ
الْقِيَامَةِ وَالسَّمَوَاتُ مَطْوِيَّاتٌ / بِيَمِينِهِ وهو كناية عن القدرة
والاستيلاء ولذلك / قال بِيَمِينِهِ دون قوله في يَمِينِهِ تجنباً لابهام
الظرفية / (26 a) التي هي من لوازم الأجسام وقوله تعالى إنها شجرة
تخرج / فِي أَصْلِ الْجَحِيمِ طَلْعُهَا كَأَنَّهُ رُؤُوسُ الشَّيَاطِينِ لأنه
لما كانت / الشياطين موصوفة بالقبح أراد ان يخيل اليهم قبح
شجرة / الزقوم وأكثر الآيات المشابهة من هذا القبيل وقد ظهر أن
التخيل لفظ فيه بعد عن معنى التورية .

It is, of course, impossible to ascertain how much in this passage is a faithful reproduction of Ibn an-Naḥwiyya's text.

quotation from Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya as an example of the *taxyîl*. The chapter ends abruptly with the statement that Ibn al-Aʿtîr uses the term *muġālaṭa ma'nawiyya*. Şafadî considers this a "close term" (*tasmiya qarîba*). The rest of the folio (26a) has been left blank.

Fols. 26b–35a. The third chapter of the first Prolegomenon. In this third chapter Şafadî deals first with the names of the different types of *tawriya* and their definitions. He quotes Sakkākî's chapter on the *ihām* from the *Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm*, and observes that Faxraddîn ar-Rāzî in the *Nihāyat al-Īcāz* deals with the figure in a similar way. These two scholars, he says, give only a general outline of the principle on which the *tawriya* depends and do not explain the differences between the *tawriya mucarrada*, the *tawriya mubayyana*, the *tawriya muraššaḥa*, and the *tawriya muḥayya'a*. What follows essentially corresponds to the theories of the classical handbooks on which Mehren's *Rhetorik der Araber* is based, and to the explanation I have given in the Introduction to this book. There is no need, therefore, to discuss this section of the chapter in detail, and I can limit myself to mentioning a few points by which Şafadî elaborates the theories I have outlined earlier.

Şafadî first defines the *tawriya mucarrada* as a *tawriya* which contains no 'attributes' (*lawāzim*) of either the hiding or the hidden sense of the *tawriya*-word (thereby differing from his predecessors, Badraddîn b. Mālik and Qazwīnī, who require only that it should have no elements connected with the hiding sense). To illustrate this type of *tawriya* he quotes the two lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ beginning with *Ka-anna Nisāna (Kānūna)*, which I have already quoted in the Introduction to this book, and which occur also in Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḡa's *Tahrîr*, in Badraddîn b. Mālik's *Miṣbāḥ*, and in Qazwīnī's *İdāḥ*. Perhaps with a view to refuting the theories of Ibn Mālik and Qazwīnī, Şafadî observes that there can be no question of these two lines being considered as a *tawriya muraššaḥa*. For the words *cady* and *ḥamal* are themselves ambiguous and cannot therefore be considered as *lawāzim* of one of the two meanings of *gazāla*. For the same reason *gazāla* cannot be considered as being an element in the sentence specifically related to either of the meanings of the two words, *cady* and *ḥamal*. (This view is also expressed by Badraddîn b. an-Naḥwiyya; see above, p. 58, note 29.) We should also keep in mind, Şafadî says, that some scholars do not admit *gazāla* as a feminine of *gazāl*. According to these scholars the female of the *gazāl* is called *zabya*, and *gazāla* can mean only 'the early part of the forenoon' or 'the sun'.³⁵ In spite of this, he says, *gazāla* is often used

³⁵ See Lane, *Lexicon*, s. vv., *gazāl* and *gazāla*.

by the poets as a feminine of *ğazâl*, and he illustrates this by a number of examples.

To illustrate the *tawriya mubayyana* Şafadî now quotes the line of Buhturî beginning with *Wa-warā'a tasdiyati 'l-wuṣāti* ... Having explained that the words *maliyyatun bi-'l-ḥusni* may be considered a *lāzim* of the root *m-l-ḥ* in the sense of 'to be beautiful', the text suddenly breaks off and half of the page (fol. 28 b) is left blank. The argument is resumed on the lower half of the page. Having pointed out earlier that in the line of Buhturî the element in the sentence that is related to the 'hidden meaning' (*al-muwarrā 'anhu*) precedes the word *tamluḥ* on which the figure depends, he observes that there are also cases where such an element occurs after the *tawriya* word. He illustrates this second type of the *tawriya mubayyana* by quoting the line beginning with *Arā ḍa-naba 's-sirḥāni* ..., which, as we have seen earlier, is attributed by Rašidaddīn Waṭwāt to Mas'ūd b. Sa'd. The line has been quoted in the Introduction to this study and therefore need not be repeated here. It contains yet another instance of a play on the word *ğazāla*.

After one more quotation which is followed again by a white space (occupying part of the upper half of fol. 29 a) Şafadî comes to the *tawriya murašṣaḥa* (second half of fol. 29 a, 29 b, and part of the upper half of 30 a). Şafadî first illustrates this type of *tawriya* by the two lines of Yahyā b. Manṣūr al-Ḥanafī, beginning with *Fa-lammā na'at* ..., which are also quoted by Badraddīn b. Mālik and Qazwīnī. Şafadî points out that in this example the *lāzim* of the 'hiding sense' (*al-muwarrā bihi*) of the *tawriya* word, *cufūn* (plural of *cafn*, 'eyelid' or 'scabbard'), precedes this *tawriya* word. After some more examples of play on the word *cafn*, Şafadî quotes an anonymous example of a *tawriya murašṣaḥa* in which the *lawāzim* follow the *tawriya* word. This example runs as follows (I quote only the second line):

خَلِيلِيَّ هَذَا مُنْجِدٌ وَهُوَ أَعَزَّلُ * وَهَذَا بِرُمُحٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ قَطُّ مُنْجِدًا

"My two friends, this one is on its way to Nacd (or: assisting [others against their enemies]) though he is unarmed; the other, though he has a lance, has never been on his way to Nacd (or: has never been assisting)". Şafadî explains that the words *a'zal*, 'unarmed', and '*bi-ruḥ*', 'having a lance', suggest interpreting the word *muncid* as meaning 'assisting'. What the poet has in mind, however, is the meaning 'going to [the country of] Nacd', since by *a'zal* and *bi-ruḥ* he means respectively *as-Simāk al-A'zal*, 'the star Spica Virginis', and *as-Simāk ar-Rā-miḥ*, 'Arcturus'. Şafadî then quotes an example of a similar play on the

verb *ancada*. After this we find a small white space (occupying part of the upper half of fol. 30a).

The discussion of the *tawriya muhayya'a* begins on the lower half of fol. 30a. Şafadī illustrates this type of *tawriya* by the two lines by Ibn ar-Rabī' beginning with *Lawla 't-taṭayyuru ...*, which I have mentioned in the Introduction in connection with this type of *tawriya* and which, as we have seen earlier, are also quoted by Badraddīn b. Mālik and Qazwīnī. Şafadī explains that without the word *mafrūd*, which prepares the *tawriya* in the word *mandūb*, there would be no *tawriya* at all. He adds a few more examples of plays on the words *mafrūd* and *mandūb*, and then gives the famous example by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, beginning with *Ayyuha 'l-munkiḥu ...* This example illustrates a second type of *tawriya muhayya'a* in which two *tawriyas* explain each other. The example has been quoted in the Introduction to this study. I have paraphrased there the essentials of Şafadī's commentary. The section on the *tawriya muhayya'a* ends at the bottom of fol. 31a with a statement to the effect that this type of *tawriya* is more characteristic (*axaṣṣ*) [of the figure] than the *tawriya mucarrada*. Of the page that follows (fol. 31b) the upper half has again been left blank so that it is possible that Şafadī intended to give some further explanation but left the text unfinished.³⁶

On the lower half of fol. 31b there begins a series of sections in which Şafadī offers some further explanations of his concept of the *tawriya*. Starting from his earlier definition of the meaning of the root *w-r-* from which, according to him, the term *tawriya* is derived, he explains that all *tawriyas* consist of two parts, the first of which hides the word-play, whereas the second brings out this word-play and so realizes the intention of the poet. The order of these two parts has nothing to do with the order of the *tawriya*-word and its 'attributes' (*lawāzim*) or elements specifically related to either of its two significations. Otherwise, in cases where the *lawāzim* precede the *tawriya*-word, there would be a development from what is apparent to what is hidden, and this would not be in accordance with the meaning of the root *w-r-* as he has explained it earlier. What he means by the second of the two parts, he says, is the part of the context through which it becomes apparent that one of the

³⁶ Unlike some later critics (cf., for instance Suyūṭī, *Šarḥ al-'Uqūd*, Cairo, 1358, p. 114) Şafadī makes no mention of cases where the indispensable element in the context of the *tawriya muhayya'a* precedes the *tawriya*-word, though he quotes (among the examples of play on the words *mafrūd* and *mandūb*) an example that is used by Suyūṭī to illustrate this type of *tawriya muhayya'a*.

words preceding this part has a double meaning. This part of the sentence cannot possibly precede the *tawriya*-word and need not, therefore, be identical with the *lawāzim*. These two parts of the *tawriya* he calls (following the example of the division of the two words, *Zaydun qā'imun*, 'Zayd is standing', into the *maḥkūm 'alayhi*, 'that on which a statement is made', and the *maḥkūm bihi*, 'that by which the statement is made') the *muwarrā 'anhu* and the *muwarrā bihi*. In the case of the two lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, these are respectively the word *gazāla* ('sun' or 'she-gazelle') and the words *cadī* ('the sign of Capricorn' and 'kid') and *ḥamal* ('the sign of Aries' and 'lamb'); in the line by Buḥturī the words *tamluḥ* ('is pleasing' or 'is bitter') and *ta'dub* ('is sweet'); in the lines by Yahyā b. Maṣṣūr the words *cufūn* ('scabbards' and 'eyelids') and *witr* ('unrevenged murder'), etc. With regard to the two lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Şafadī observes that if the poet had said only *Awī 'l-ğazālata min ṭūli 'l-madā xarifat | Fa-mā tufarriqu*, "Or [as though] the sun had become weak of intellect through old age / And could no longer distinguish", or had ended the sentence with *Fa-mā tufarriqu bayna manāzili 'r-rabī'i wa-manāzili 'š-šitā*, "And could no longer distinguish between the mansions of the spring season and the mansions of the winter season", there would be no *tawriya*. This section of the text is not quite clear, since (a) there is a difference between the way Şafadī uses the terms *muwarrā 'anhu* and *muwarrā bihi* here and the way he uses them in the preceding section (where they appear respectively in the sense of 'hidden meaning' and 'hiding meaning' of the *tawriya*-word), (b) Şafadī implicitly classifies the two lines by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ as a *tawriya muhayya'a*, whereas they appear in the preceding section as an example of the *tawriya mucarrada*, and (c) Şafadī fails to discuss cases where the homonym on which the word-play is based ends the sentence.

In the second section, which occupies the middle of fol. 33b, Şafadī explains that the preceding section has proved the existence of four types (*anwā'*) of *tawriya*, three of which may show two different forms (*aḍrub*). This makes a total of seven forms of *tawriya*.

In the third section (fols. 33b–35a) Şafadī discusses the *taršīḥ* or 'preparation' on which the third type of *tawriya*, the *tawriya muraššaḥa*, depends. The *taršīḥ*, Şafadī says, is not limited to the *tawriya*, but occurs also with other figures of speech such as the *isti'āra*, 'metaphor', the *ṭibāq*, 'antithesis', and the *murā'āt an-naẓīr*, 'harmony'.³⁷ He illus-

³⁷ See Mehren, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–40, 97–102, for these three figures.

trates these various types of *taršīh* by examples, some of which he explains in detail. It is interesting to note that, whereas (as appears from Şafadī's own analysis of the various types of *tawriya*) he does not consider the *taršīh* essential in the case of the *tawriya*, in the case of these other figures, Şafadī characterizes as instances of the *taršīh* elements in the sentence without which the figure would not exist. Şafadī also mentions the names of various types of *isti'āra* and promises to write a separate treatise on this figure, as he has done for the *tawriya* and the *cinās* (I have never come across any mention of a treatise on the *isti'āra* by Şafadī).

Fols. 35b–39a. The fourth chapter of the first Prolegomenon. In this chapter Şafadī discusses the *istixdām*, a figure which, as we have seen in the introductory section of this study, is related to the *tawriya* and is often mentioned in connection with it. Şafadī first explains the difference between the *tawriya* and the *istixdām*, pointing out that in the case of the *istixdām* the two meanings of the homonym have equal importance (each being specifically related to a separate part of the sentence), whereas in the case of the *tawriya* one meaning is clear and there is only a hint of a hidden second meaning (*aḥadu mafhūmayhi fi 'ẓ-ẓāhiri ma'a lamḥi 'l-āxari fi 'l-bāṭin*). He then quotes and comments upon three examples, all of which have already been mentioned in the Introduction to this study. Following the system he has previously adopted in discussing the *tawriya*, he finds it necessary to distinguish three types of *istixdām*, one in which the two parts (of the sentence) connected with the different senses of the homonym precede this homonym, a second in which one of them precedes and the other follows, and a third in which both of them follow. The literary theorists, he says, give no example of the first type, which is nevertheless represented by such examples as the following two lines composed by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Caz-zār³⁸ in praise of Mūsā b. Yağmūr [al-Yārūqī] (d. 663):³⁹

لَمَّا تَوَالَى حِلْمُهُ قُلْنَا لَهُ * مِمَّا رَأَيْنَا أَنْتَ مُوسَى الْكَاطِمُ
إِنِّي وَإِنْ كُنْتُ حَيًّا عِنْدَهُ * فَانْه لِلرِّزْقِ عِنْدِي قَاسِمُ

'As there was no end to his forbearance we said to him on account of what we saw: 'Thou art Mūsā al-Kāzim' / Even though I am like Ḥabīb [b. Aws at-Ṭā'ī, Abū Tammām] to [Abū Dulaf al-] Qāsim (*i. e.*, as highly

³⁸ See above, p. 73.

³⁹ See an-Nu'aymī, *Kitāb ad-Dāris fī Ta'rix al-Madāris* (Damascus, 1948), Index; Ibn al-Imād, *Šağarāt*, V, p. 313.

esteemed by him as Ḥabīb by Qāsim and, in his opinion, as deserving to be rewarded for my panegyrical poems), he is to me a distributor (*qāsim*) of livelihood (*i.e.*, I do not think so highly of myself and therefore consider him a distributor of livelihood to which I cannot claim to possess any right)".

These two lines are a sad example of the complicated means through which some post-classical poets tried to capture their public, and I am by no means certain that I have understood them correctly. According to Şafadī, they contain in the first line a *tawriya* (Mūsā al-Kāzīm both as the name of the seventh of the Šī'ite imams, and as a combination of the name of the *mamdūh*, Mūsā, and the adjective *al-kāzīm*, 'the one who represses his anger'), and in the second line an *istixdām* which depends on taking the word *qāsim* first as a proper name belonging to Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim al-'Iclī (d. 225) to whom the poet Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws aṭ-Ṭā'ī addressed a number of *qaṣīdas*, and then taking it as a *nomen agentis* meaning 'one who distributes'. (It would be possible, I think, to explain this second line also as a *tawriya*. For the word *ḥabīb* is, like the word *al-kāzīm* in the first line and the word *qāsim* in the second, not only a proper name but also a common substantive, meaning 'friend'. The translation could therefore be also as follows: "Although I am as highly esteemed by him as a friend, he is to me..."). There follow two more examples of this type of *istixdām* taken from poems by Muḥyiddīn b. 'Abdazzāhir and Sirācaddīn al-Warrāq. Two thirds of fol. 38a have been left blank, and the chapter ends with a short note occupying fol. 38b and part of fol. 39a, in which Şafadī states (correctly though without producing any arguments) that three examples of the *tawriya* are wrongly considered by some critics as examples of the *istixdām*. (It may be, of course, that these sources, which Şafadī does not specify, did not confuse the two figures but simply used the term *istixdām* for what other critics would have called *tawriya* or *ihām*.) The three examples occur also in the chapter on the *muğālaṭa ma'nawiyya* in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Maṭal as-Sā'ir*, a chapter which, as I have pointed out above, deals almost exclusively with examples of the *tawriya*. One of these examples, the line beginning with *Bi-rağmi Šabībin* ..., has been quoted before in the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See above, p. 70. I have quoted the third example myself while dealing with the *Maṭal as-Sā'ir* (see above, p. 47, note 6). The second example occurs not only in the *Maṭal as-Sā'ir*, but also in the *Asrār al-Balāğa* of 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī (ed. Ritter), p. 327 (= p. 381 of Ritter's German translation). Curcānī quotes only the first line. See also Bakrī, *Simṭ al-La'ālī*, I, pp. 257-258.

Fols. 39a-41b. The Complement of the first Prolegomenon. In this Complement Şafadî discusses a special type of the figure *taḍmîn*,⁴¹ or 'incorporation', which follows the rules of the *tawriya*. It depends on incorporating a well-known proverb or line of poetry in one's composition and employing one of the words that occur in this proverb or line of poetry in a different sense. From the numerous and often quite charming examples mentioned by Şafadî I quote two lines by Sirâcaddîn al-Warrâq in which this poet praises a *qaṣida* composed by Nâsiraddîn al-Ḥasan b. an-Naqîb on the defeat of the Mongols at Ḥims (680). In these two lines Sirâcaddîn al-Warrâq incorporated part of the following well-known lines of the Umayyad poet, Du 'r-Rumma:⁴²

ولمّا تلاقينا جرّت من عُيوننا
دُمُوعٌ كَفَقْنَا غَرَبَهَا بِالأَصَابِعِ
ونِلْنَا سِقَاطًا من حَدِيثِ كَأَنه
جَنَى النَحْلِ مَمزُوجًا بماءِ الوقايِعِ

"When we met there streamed from our eyes tears, the flow of which we checked with our fingers / And one by one⁴³ we found the words of a discourse which was like the bee's harvest (honey) mixed with the [limpid] water collected in hollows of solid ground".

From these two lines Sirâcaddîn al-Warrâq took the last hemistich of the second line, using the word *waqā'i'*, no longer exclusively in the sense of 'tracts of hard soil', but also in the sense of 'battles':

ومَدَحَ كسا المدوح منه ملايسا
وشايِعُها في الحُسْنِ فَوْقَ الوشايِعِ
وإن مَرَّةً في ذِكْرِ الوقايِعِ خِلَتِه
جَنَى النَحْلِ مَمزُوجًا بماءِ الوقايِعِ

"How good is this poem of eulogy which covered its subject with clothes, the fame of their beauty being even greater than that of the art of the weavers.⁴⁴ When people speak of battles and mention this poem, thou

⁴¹ See Mehren, *Rhetorik der Araber*, pp. 138-140. Mehren likewise quotes an example of a *taḍmîn* resulting in a *tawriya*.

⁴² *Diwān* (ed. Macartney), p. 358.

⁴³ I follow the explanation offered by the commentary.

⁴⁴ For the various meanings of the word *waṣī'a*, to which I gave a general sense in my translation, see the Arabic lexicons and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

imaginest it to be the bee's harvest mixed with the water (blood) of battles (or: the [limpid] water collected in hollows of solid ground)".

Fols. 41b-44b. The first chapter of the second Prolegomenon. This chapter deals with the advantages offered by the *iştirāk* or 'sharing', by which Şafadī understands the possibility of expressing different concepts by the same word. This *iştirāk*, Şafadī says, has numerous advantages which every intelligent person will be able to appreciate. One can, for instance, "condense much into little" by expressing essentially different things by one word used in various senses. The word *ʿayn* is a good example, since it has no less than fifteen different meanings. The use one can make of the double sense of words like *cafn* and *yamānī* is well illustrated by such examples as the following line by Arracānī:⁴⁵

يَشِيمُ الْبَرْقَ وَهُوَ ضَجِيعُ عَضْبٍ
فَفِي الْجَفْنَيْنِ مِنْهُ يَمَانِيَانِ

"He watches the lightning while a sharp sword is his bed-companion, so that in his two *cafn*s (his eyelids and his scabbard) there are two things from the Yemen (his Yemenite sword and the lightning which is seen in the direction of the Yemen)". There follow many examples of the use of the double meaning of *cafn*, in which Şafadī, as we have seen earlier,⁴⁶ seems to take a particular interest.

Another advantage is that by means of the *iştirāk* one can construct equivocal expressions and conceal certain things from others, for instance from one's enemies, without committing a lie. Şafadī quotes the well-known Tradition, *Inna fi 'l-ma'ārīḍi la-mandūḥatan 'ani 'l-kaḍīb*, "In equivocal speech there is freedom from lying", and quotes, also from Tradition, two examples of how this may be done. The first of these tells how the Prophet on his way to Badr met a Bedouin who asked him where he and his companions came from. The Prophet, who wished to hide his identity and at the same time to avoid a lie, replied *min mā'*, "from *mā'*", making the Bedouin believe that they belonged to a tribe carrying the name *mā'*, 'water,' though what he actually meant was that they were created from water.⁴⁷ The second Tradition relates how Abū Bakr gave the following reply to an infidel who asked him during his flight to Medina to disclose the name of the man who was

⁴⁵ *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1307), p. 403.

⁴⁶ See above, p. 81.

⁴⁷ This Tradition is also quoted in the chapter on the *muḡālaṭa ma'nawiyya* in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Maṭal*, II, p. 218.

accompanying him: "This is a guide who guides me on my path". By "path" he meant the Path of Islam though he made his enemy believe that he meant the word in its literal sense. Thus he concealed the identity of the Prophet without pronouncing a falsehood.

Among the numerous other anecdotes quoted in this chapter there is one which relates how the famous theologian, Ibn al-Cawzī, had once to address a mixed company of Sunnis and Shī'ites. Being asked to give his opinion on whether it was Abū Bakr or 'Alī who was the more meritorious among those who remained after the death of the Prophet, he replied, *Mani 'bnatuhū tahtahū*. This reply satisfied both parties, since it could be interpreted as meaning: 'the man to whose daughter he (the Prophet) was married (*i.e.*, Abū Bakr)', or: 'the man who was married to his (the Prophet's) daughter, (*i.e.*, 'Alī)'. The chapter has a number of other examples which, though interesting in themselves, like the three preceding examples have very often nothing to do with either the *tawriya* or the *istixdām*.⁴⁸ The chapter also contains a quotation from the *Kitāb al-I'cāz fi 'l-Aḥācī wa-'l-Algāz* of [Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī] al-Warrāq al-Ḥaḡirī (d. 568)⁴⁹ and one from a book under the title *Naqd aš-Ši'r* by one Ibn Cubāra, no doubt Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Cubāra as-Saxāwī (d. 632),⁵⁰ who wrote a book with this title. In the quotation from Ibn Cubāra's *Naqd aš-Ši'r* the term *tawriya* is used in connection with expressions which should properly be called examples of the *ibhām*, which shows that even in the seventh century there was no universally accepted definition of the term *tawriya*.

The chapter ends with the mention of three authors whose work is, according to Şafadī, particularly suitable for illustrating the advantages of the *istirāk*. The first of these three authors is the author of the *Šuḍūr*, *i.e.*, Ibn Arfa' Ra'sahū (d. 593),⁵¹ who by using ambiguous expressions disguised (*warrā*) his theories on alchemy. The two other authors are Šarafaddīn 'Umar b. al-Fāriḡ (d. 632)⁵² and 'Afīfaddīn at-Tilimsānī (d. 690),⁵³ both of whom had to conceal their religious views on Unity

⁴⁸ From the fact that the Bedouin was puzzled by the answer of the Prophet it appears that there was no tribe by the name of *mā'*. The reply of the Prophet might be called a *lahn*. The word-play in the second Tradition and the one in the anecdote of Ibn al-Cawzī depend respectively on the speaker leaving unspecified whether the word "path" should be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense and on syntactical ambiguity.

⁴⁹ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 248, S I, p. 441.

⁵⁰ See Suyūṭī, *Buḡya*, p. 329.

⁵¹ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 496, S I, p. 908. For the *Dīwān Šuḍūr aḡ-Dahab*, see Siggel, *Katal. der arab. alchemistischen Handschr. Deutschlands*, pp. 20-41.

⁵² See, *GAL*, G I, p. 262, S I, p. 462.

⁵³ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 258, S I, p. 458.

by bringing them out in the form of erotic poems. Şafadî quotes a line from the last author.

Fols. 45a-47a. The second chapter of the second Prolegomenon. In this chapter Şafadî discusses the *istirāk* from a theoretical point of view. He explains that one may speak of an *istirāk* only in cases where a word is used in two fundamentally different senses, not in cases where one of the two senses is original and the other 'derivative' (*bi-'l-macāz*). The word '*ayn*', for instance, has many fundamentally different senses, but the word *ṣalāt* etymologically (*luġatan*) means 'prayer' and is used in a derivative sense for the well-known ritual movements. The *istirāk*, the possibility of several concepts having in common one expression, is the opposite of the *tawāṭu'*, the possibility of several expressions representing one and the same concept.

Some people, according to Şafadî, hold that the *istirāk* can never take place, since it would lead to a speaker's argument becoming incomprehensible. He refutes this view by pointing out that the context or the circumstances under which something is said may or may not make sufficiently clear what the speaker has in mind. On the other hand the speaker may use general statements which are left unspecified in order to avoid evil (as in the case of the reply of Abū Bakr) or because he is not sure whether a certain thing is true in every respect. This is the view of those who hold that the *istirāk* is possible. The correct view, however, is, according to Şafadî, that the *istirāk* exists by necessity (*wucūb*). He uses the following two arguments: Words are formed from the letters of the alphabet, the number of which is limited. Consequently the number of words that can be formed from them is also limited. The number of ideas expressed by these words, however, is infinite, as already appears from the fact that one of the categories of ideas, the numbers, is infinite. Whenever things infinite in number are distributed among (*wuzzi'a 'alā*) things limited in number, there must be an *istirāk*. Secondly there are words like *al-mawcūd* ('the existing') and *aš-šay'* ('the thing') which are found in every language. The existence of a thing is its very essence (*māhiyya*), so that the existence of one thing is different from the existence of another. Consequently the word 'existence' can be applied to these different things only "by way of *istirāk*".

Those who hold that the *istirāk* exists by necessity differ, however, on the question of how it came into being. Some, Şafadî says, hold that its most frequent cause is the use by different tribes of one and the same expression (*lafza*) for different things. The people of the Ḥicāz, for instance, adopted the word *xāl* in the sense of 'mole', those of the

Yemen in the sense of 'maternal uncle', and the Syrians applied it in the sense of 'banner tied to a spear and put up in honor of the commander of an army'. These different ways of using one and the same word became commonly accepted in the course of time. Less frequently, the same authorities say, the *iştirāk* originates from a man's using a word in more than one sense for the sake of brevity, that is in order to be able to use few words for many concepts, or for artistic purposes, since the *iştirāk* lends splendor and beauty to a word. Şafadī then refers his readers to two useful works on the subject, the *Kitāb al-ʿAşarāt* of [Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Caʿfar] al-Qazzāz (d. 412)⁵⁴ and the *Kitāb al-Muṭallaṭ* of Camāladdīn b. Mālik (d. 672),⁵⁵ and the chapter ends rather abruptly without the mention of any second theory on the origin of the *iştirāk*. This chapter, like the preceding chapter which dealt with the advantages offered by the *iştirāk*, leaves a somewhat confused impression, since on the one hand Şafadī seems to limit the term *iştirāk* to cases of lexical homonymy, but on the other hand quotes examples like the famous reply of Abū Bakr which depend not on homonymy, but on leaving unspecified whether a certain word in the sentence should be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense.

Fols. 47a-48b. The third chapter of the second Prolegomenon. In this chapter Şafadī deals with the various possible cases of *iştirāk*. *Iştirāk*, he says, may result from the fact that two nouns are identical in form, but different in meaning. Both nouns may be derived from strong roots or both may be derived from weak roots. Sometimes one of the nouns is derived from a strong root and the other from a weak root, the identity in form resulting from the particular case-ending of one of the words, as for instance *Šiʿrā*, 'Sirius', and *šiʿrā*, the accusative of *šiʿr*, 'poetry'.⁵⁶ There may also be an *iştirāk* between two verbs or between a noun and a verb in the perfect or in the imperfect tense, and between a noun and a particle or between a noun and [the name of] a letter.⁵⁷ He quotes examples to illustrate each of these various types of *iştirāk*, two of which I will attempt to translate here.

The first example, composed by Sirācaddīn al-Warrāq, shows an *iştirāk* resulting from a noun and a verb in the imperfect tense being identical in form:

⁵⁴ See, *GAL*, S I, p. 539.

⁵⁵ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 298, S I, p. 521.

⁵⁶ All Arabic dictionaries, as far as I know, mention *Šiʿrā* and *šiʿr* under the same root, *š-ʿ-r*, but Şafadī seems to derive *Šiʿrā* from a root *š-ʿ-r-y*.

⁵⁷ The term *ḥarf* meaning both 'particle' and 'letter', Şafadī brings these two last categories under the same heading.

وَقَرَّبْتُ السَّبْعُونَ خَطْوَى وَأَبْعَدْتُ
مَطَالِبَ خَطْوَى خَلْفَهُنَّ قَصِيرَ
فَكَيْفَ خَلَاصِي أَوْ لِحَاقِي بِفَائِتْ
وَهَا أَنَا فِي قَيْدِ الْحَيَاةِ أُسِيرُ

"My seventy years have brought my steps close to one another, and have put the aims I pursue at a great distance, the steps with which I run after them being short ones / How can I be free again, or retrieve what is lost while, lo! I am a prisoner in the shackles of the short span of life (or: while, lo! I am traveling along hampered by the shackles of the short span of life)".

The same poet also composed the following example which illustrates the *iştirāk* between a noun and a particle:

عَادَى نَعَمٌ حُبًّا لِّلَا سِفْلَةً
أَطْرَبْنِي فِيهِ الَّذِي قَالَا
تَرْبِيَّةِ الْخُدَّامِ هَذَا بَلَا
شَكٌّ فَمَا يَخْرُجُ عَنْ لَا لَا

"There is a vulgar man who, out of love for *lā* ('no'), treats *na'am* ('yes') as an enemy, and whose speech makes me merry with him. Such no doubt is the education of servants, and so he always remains confined to saying *lā, lā* (or: and so he never stops jesting)".

The chapter ends abruptly on fol. 48b after Şafadî has stated that the *iştirāk* may depend also on identity in form between a verb and a particle. The rest of the page has been left blank.

Fols. 49a-59b. The fourth chapter of the second Prolegomenon. In this chapter Şafadî deals with poets who wished to bring *tawriyas* into their poems, but failed to do so, since they wrongly thought two concepts could be expressed by words that were identical in form. Here Şafadî shows an amazing knowledge of lexicography and of the poetry of ancient as well as contemporary poets. For along with the evidence of a poet having used a word in a wrong form so that a false homonymy resulted, he often quotes a line in which the word in question appears in its correct form. The following will be sufficient to illustrate the method Şafadî follows in this chapter: In order to demonstrate that

the word *šifā* is taken by some as meaning both 'remedy' and 'awl', Šafadī quotes from an anonymous poet:

رُبَّ إِسْكَافٍ بَدِيعٌ حُسْنُهُ * ذَابَ قَلْبِي مِنْهُ صَدًّا وَجَفَا
كُلَّمَا أَشْكُو إِلَيْهِ سَقَمِي * قَالَ مَا عِنْدِي سِوَى هَذَا الشِّفَا

"Many a shoemaker of shining beauty shunned me and treated me roughly, so that my heart melted / Every time I complained to him of my illness he said: 'I have no other than this remedy (or: this awl)' ". Šafadī then quotes a similar instance of a wrong use of the word *šifā* from the poetry of Šamsaddīn b. Dāniyāl,⁵⁸ and refers to the lexicographers Cawharī and Ibn as-Sikkīt to prove that the well-known shoemaker's implement was called *išfā*, not *šifā*.⁵⁹ The correct form he finds in another fragment which is again quoted anonymously:

فَدَيْتُ قَامَةَ إِسْكَافٍ أَمْرٌ بِهِ
فَيَسْتَوِي قَائِمًا وَالطَّرْفُ يَنْكُسُهُ
كَأَنَّ الْحَاضِرَ إِشْفَاهُ فِي يَدِهِ
وَقَلْبِي الْجِلْدُ فَهُوَ الدَّهْرُ يَنْخُسُهُ

"May I be the ransom of the [graceful] stature of a shoemaker, whom I passed and who raised himself to a standing position, turning his eyes to the ground / It was as though the glance of his eyes were the awl in his hand and my heart the hide he is perpetually perforating".

Šafadī also quotes some examples of less serious violations of usage and observes in passing that some *tawriyas* are based on place-names that are not universally known, so that they can be understood only by people acquainted with local geography.

This chapter ends with two 'sections' (*faṣl*), the first of which (fols. 54b–56b) deals with the 'incomplete *tawriya*' (*tawriya nāqīṣa*), by which Šafadī understands a *tawriya* which failed because there is only one interpretation of the *tawriya*-word which can be used in the context. The *tawriya* may be incomplete because the second interpretation is grammatically unacceptable, as for instance in the following example by Sayfaddīn b. Qizil al-Mušidd⁶⁰ (I quote only the second line):

وَمِنَ الْمِحْنَةِ الَّتِي نَحْنُ فِيهَا * حَرٌّ تَمْوِزَ آبَ فِي أَيْلُولِ

⁵⁸ See above, p. 73.

⁵⁹ See, however, Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., *šifā*.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 74.

"And among the trials with which we are afflicted there is the heat of Tammūz (July) which has returned in Aylūl (September)".

The word *āba*, which I have translated by 'has returned', is identical in form with the genitive case of *Āb* (August), the name of one of the months of the Syrian calendar. Şafadî considers this a case of 'incomplete *tawriya*'. The author, according to him, wished to give a double sense to the word *āba* (this conclusion is apparently based on the fact that the line contains the names of two other months of the Syrian calendar), but failed to do so, since from a syntactical point of view (which is apparently the only question that interests Şafadî here) it is possible to use the name *Āb* in this context only if we put it in the nominative case.

There are other examples of a similar nature showing various syntactical and morphological defects. But the *tawriya* may be defective for other reasons. On a slip of paper inserted between fol. 55b and fol. 56a Şafadî quotes a *tawriya* based on an abbreviation of the title, *Tashîl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmil al-Maqāşid*, of a book by Camāladdîn b. Mālik (d. 672).⁶¹ This last *tawriya*, according to Şafadî, failed through the fact that the poet used the word *al-Fawā'id* instead of *at-Tashîl*, by which this title is usually abbreviated. Lastly there is (on the same slip of paper) an example taken from the poetry of Şamsaddîn Muḥammad [b. 'Afîfaddîn] at-Tilimsānî⁶² in which, in Şafadî's opinion, this poet did not realize his intentions because his *tawriya* results in a statement that contains an error of reasoning. In this poem the poet complains of a spy (*raqîb*) who makes it impossible for him to be alone with his beloved, thereby denying [him] 'both union and privacy' (*al-cam'a wa-'l-xuluwwa ma'ā*) and violating the rules of logic. Şafadî, who interprets the *tawriya* as based on taking *al-cam'* and *al-xuluww* respectively in the sense of 'combining [the property of being divisible and the property of being indivisible]' and 'not having [any of these two properties]', points out that numbers are either divisible or indivisible and that both statements are therefore illogical.⁶³

The second section (fols. 56b-59a) deals with the *tawriya ba'ida* ('far-fetched *tawriya*'). Şafadî defines this type of *tawriya* as "the use of a

⁶¹ See, *GAL*, G I, p. 298, S I, p. 522 for this title. The passage is discussed by Maqqarî in his *Analectes* (ed. Dozy, I, p. 609).

⁶² See above, p. 74.

⁶³ It is more likely, I think, that the poet simply wishes to take *al-cam'* and *al-xuluww* in the sense of 'plurality' and 'singleness' (of the lovers, since he is constantly watching one of them), though I admit that the word-play is rather poor. There is, no doubt, also an allusion to the legal terms *cimā'* and *xalwa*.

concept that is connected with or is an attribute of the hiding concept or the hidden concept, instead of the hiding concept or the hidden concept itself".⁶⁴ From what follows it appears that what he understands by this is the use of a word in a somewhat wider sense than it is strictly allowed to have,⁶⁵ as in the following two lines by [Badraddîn] Yûsuf b. Lu'lu' ad-Dahabî:⁶⁶

أَدِرْ كُؤُوسَ الرَّاحِ فِي رَوْضَةٍ
 قَدْ نَمَّقَتْ أَبْرَادَهَا السُّحُبُ
 الطَّيْرُ فِيهَا شَيْقُ مُغْرَمٍ
 وَجَدَّوْلُ الْمَاءِ بِهَا صَبٌّ

"Make the cups of wine go round in a garden, the garments of which have been skilfully woven by the [rain-] clouds / And in which the birds are longing and amorous, and the brook of water love-lorn". In this line, Şafadî explains, the poet intends the word *şabb* to have not only the sense of 'love-lorn', but also the sense of 'rushing down'. But only the fifth form of the verb of the root *ş-b-b*, he says, has this sense, whereas the first form (of which *şabb* is the verbal noun) may be used only of the trickling down (*qaṭr*) of rain.⁶⁷ In his opinion the poet allowed himself this liberty because the river is an 'attribute' (*lāzim*) of the rain (the one being the result of the other). If he could have his way, Şafadî says, he would change the last hemistich into:

وَمَدَّ مَعَ الْغَيْثِ بِهَا صَبٌّ

"... and in which the tears of rain were falling down".

The chapter leaves a somewhat confused impression. For it also contains an example of a *tawriya* which, in Şafadî's opinion, is obscure as a

⁶⁴ The passage reads as follows:

[وَبَقِيَ قِسْمٌ آخَرٌ وَهُوَ أَنْ تَكُونَ التَّوْرِيَّةُ بَعِيدَةً] لِسُتْعَالِ أَحَدِ مُتَعَلِّقَاتِ الْمَوْرِي بِهِ أَوْ لَوَازِمِهِ مَكَانَهُ أَوْ إِقَامَةِ الْمُتَعَلِّقِ أَوْ الْإِلَازِمِ مَقَامَ الْمَوْرِي عَنْهُ.

⁶⁵ The difference between the error underlying the *tawriya ba'ida* and the error he has discussed at the beginning of the chapter (see above, p. 91) seems to be that in the former case the poet thinks that he can express a second concept by the same term, even though this term admits of only one sense or of a second sense that has no relation whatsoever to what the poet has in mind, whereas in the case of the *tawriya ba'ida* the term has a second sense that comes close to the sense intended by the poet and could even conceivably be used in that sense.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 74.

⁶⁷ Cf. however Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

result of the poet's clumsy style and which, therefore, does not correspond in any way to the above definition. I quote the second line of this example, which Şafadī attributes to Šamsaddīn Muḥammad [b. 'Afīfaddīn] at-Tilimsānī:

وما كُنْتُ مَجْنُونُ الْهَوَىٰ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَرَى
لِقَلْبِي مِنْ صَدْعِكَ فِي الْأَسْرِ عَاقِلٌ

"I did not loose my reason through love before there appeared for my heart from the locks of thy temples [fetters] binding it (or: one who was sane)⁶⁸ in captivity".

In this example, Şafadī says, the antithesis between *macnūn*, 'insane', and 'āqil in the sense of 'sane' is unclear (and consequently also the *tawriya* which reveals itself through this antithesis). The confusion comes as a result of the distance the poet has put between these two words and also of the difficult syntactical construction of the phrase, which should normally read as follows:

وما كُنْتُ مَجْنُونُ الْهَوَىٰ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَرَى عَاقِلٌ مِنْ صَدْعِكَ لِقَلْبِي فِي الْأَسْرِ

"I did not loose my reason through love before there appeared fetters (or: a sane one) from the locks of thy temples binding my heart in captivity".

Şafadī ends by saying that all the examples he has quoted in the fourth chapter of the second Prolegomenon are good poetry. Even if, strictly speaking, they cannot be said to contain *tawriyas*, they may still be called examples of the *ihām at-tawriya* or *ṭayf at-tawriya*, the 'suggestion' or the 'specter' of the *tawriya* (a concept which, to judge from the examples I have quoted, should have a somewhat wider sense than the *tawhīm at-tawriya* of Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq and Şafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī).

Fols. 59b-63a. The Complement (*tatimma*) of the second Prolegomenon. In this Complement Şafadī explains in detail how one can avoid using as homonyms words that may not be considered such. One should avoid, he says, looking only at the consonants of which the words are composed, without giving due attention to the vowel-signs. The word *ṭalan*, for instance, means 'young one', and is used of any animal, though mostly of the young of the gazelle. *Ṭīlan*, however, as well as *ṭīlā*, means 'juice of grapes cooked until the quantity of two-thirds of it has gone by evaporation', and *ṭulan*, being the plural of *ṭulya*, means 'sides

⁶⁸ Şafadī raises no objection to the fact that the line becomes wholly unintelligible if we take 'āqil in the sense of 'a sane one'.

of the neck'. But there is no *iştirāk* in these three words since the vowels are in each case different. The word *ṭalan*, though, has several meanings, and is used not only in the sense of 'young one', but also in the sense of 'appearance' and of 'dryness of the mouth' (caused by sickness or thirst). Moreover, *ṭilan* is used also in the sense of a fluid with which one smears, etc. There follow instances of verbs which change their meaning when the characteristic vowel of the perfect or the imperfect is changed, and of verbal nouns which change form in accordance with different meanings of the same verb, even though the form of the perfect or imperfect of this verb remains the same. In the case of verbal nouns as well as in the case of common nouns it may happen, though, that one form has several meanings, and the same holds true of verbs. For there are cases where the perfect tense of a verb has two meanings, though the corresponding imperfect has a separate form for each meaning, and vice versa.

Finally, this section of the book contains four lines by Sirācaddīn al-Warrāq which seem to be part of a didactic poem and an amusing exchange of poetry between the same Sirācaddīn al-Warrāq and Naṣīr-addīn al-Ḥammāmī⁶⁹ on the subject of etymology.

Fols. 63a-65a. The second Prolegomenon ends with a remark (*tanbih*) to the effect that among the various figures of speech the *istixdām* occupies a more eminent position than the *tawriya* and is of rarer occurrence, as it requires more ingenuity on the part of the poet. As part of the same remark Şafadī warns against basing these figures on rare and obscure expressions like those used by Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī. Şafadī then quotes several lines by this poet which show far-fetched word-plays. Some of Abu 'l-'Alā's attempts have, in Şafadī's opinion, been successful, such as the following example which shows an *istixdām* in the second line:

مِثْلَ وَشَى الْوَلِيدِ لَانَتْ وَإِنْ كَا
نَتْ مِنَ الصُّنْعِ مِثْلَ وَشَى حَبِيبِ
تِلْكَ مَازِيَّةٌ وَمَا لِدُبَابِ الْ-
سَيْفِ وَالصَّيْفِ عِنْدَهَا مِنْ نَصِيبِ

"Tender as the compositions of al-Walid [b. 'Ubayd al-Buhturī], yet strongly made like the compositions of Ḥabīb [b. Aws at-Ṭā'ī, Abū Tammām] / This is a coat of mail which is [soft] like honey and yet gives neither the *dubāb* ('edge') of the sword nor the *dubāb* ('flies') of the sum-

⁶⁹ See above, p. 73.

mer a chance (*i.e.*, which does not allow the sword to penetrate or the flies to enjoy it)".⁷⁰ There follow two more lines with plays on the word *qubāb*, the first of which was composed by Şafadî's teacher, Şihābaddīn Abu 't-Tanā' Maḥmūd [b. Salmān b. Fahd al-Ḥalabī] (d. 725),⁷¹ and the second by the Qāḍī Muḥyiddīn b. 'Abdazzāhir,⁷² and the remark which closes the second Prolegomenon and therewith also the theoretical section of the book ends with some practical advice: One should avoid difficult meters like the *madīd*. The rhyme-word should be well-adapted to the rest of the line, and if the rhyme-word happens to be the word on which the figure depends, the effect of the figure will be most striking, both in the case of the *tawriya* and in the case of other figures of speech.

From the above summary of the two Prolegomena of Şafadî's *FadḌ al-Xitām* it will be clear that this work merits our attention both as a digest of earlier discussions of the *tawriya* and the *istixdām*, and as an independent theory of these figures. It is, of course, not possible completely to establish the degree in which Şafadî made use of the work of his predecessors. It may, for instance be, that Şafadî was not the first to use the terms *tawriya muḥayya'a* and *tawriya mubayyana*, though these terms are not used in any earlier source known to me. We have seen, however, that Şafadî quotes earlier sources rather often, especially in questions of terminology, so that it is likely that in this case as well as in other cases where no authority is mentioned Şafadî originated both the terms and their analysis.

We have seen that Şafadî tries to approach the theory of the two figures from every possible angle. Yet he fails to give an answer to all questions that might occur to a modern reader, as for instance the question whether, in certain cases, especially in examples quoted from early poets, the figure was actually intended by the poet (Şafadî raises this question only in the case of the line of Abū Nuwās beginning with *Fatanat qalbī...*),⁷³ and, if so, whether the context contains the elements necessary to bring out this double meaning clearly. On the other hand we must admit that Şafadî, by pointing out cases in which the *tawriya*, whether intended or not, cannot be accepted as such from a grammatical or a lexical point of view, already went a long way toward a solution of such questions, and that by warning against basing the

⁷⁰ *Šurūḥ Siqṭ az-Zand*, IV, p. 1923; 'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, p. 308.

⁷¹ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 44, S II, p. 42.

⁷² See above, p. 73.

⁷³ See above, pp. 70-71.

figure on double meanings that could not easily be discovered or were not commonly known, he introduced a sound principle of esthetic criticism. We should also not overemphasize the errors and inconsistencies found in these two Prolegomena. They hardly affect the quality of the work as a whole and are probably the result of the fact that the work was never finished.

I will not deal with the illustrative section of the *Fadd al-Xitâm*, which covers fols. 66a-106b. This section contains no explanations, and therefore has nothing to contribute to our knowledge of the theory of the figure. The task of interpreting and making accessible the examples which Şafadî offers in this section belongs to a future editor. It will be worth while, however, to end this study with the discussion of some interesting points in the works of two authors who dealt with the *tawriya* in Şafadî's lifetime, and of three others who dealt with it in the centuries that followed. These authors not only explain and supplement the theories of their predecessors, but also offer many additional and sometimes interesting examples. Less frequently they make some new contributions to the theory of the figure, such as, for instance, their observations on the difference between the *tawriya* and the *isti'āra*. I hope to deal with these later developments at some future time and will limit myself here to mentioning a few points which are closely related to the theories of Şafadî and his predecessors and which have not yet been mentioned in the footnotes to the preceding pages.

6. SOME LATER CONTRIBUTIONS

Bahā'addīn as-Subkī (d. 773)¹ was a younger contemporary of Ṣafadī and outlived the author of the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* by nine years. He wrote a commentary on Qazwīnī's *Talxīs al-Miftāḥ*, which has been printed in the collection of commentaries on the *Talxīs* (*Šurūḥ at-Talxīs*). This commentary, which goes by the name of '*Arūs al-Afrāḥ fī Šarḥ Talxīs al-Miftāḥ*', contains an interesting chapter on the *tawriya*.² There is no reference to Ṣafadī or any indication that the author was acquainted with the work of his contemporary. Bahā'addīn differs from Ṣafadī in his interpretation of the meaning of the term *tawriya*,³ which he explains etymologically as 'covering one piece of information and bringing into light another'. He holds that the *tawriya* may depend not only on a word being used in two senses which have no apparent relation to each other, but also on a word being used in a concrete and in a figurative sense. In the first case one of the two meanings has to be of more frequent usage than the other, so that the mind "seizes it more rapidly".

There can be no doubt that Bahā'addīn allows a poet to base the *tawriya* on the concrete and the figurative sense of a word in order to be able to explain the two Koranic examples selected by his predecessor, Qazwīnī. Like Qazwīnī before him, he accepts Koran XX, 4 as a *tawriya*, though he does not agree with Qazwīnī's classification of this example. The preposition '*alā*, 'on', he says, denotes concrete elevation (*al-isti'lā al-ḥissī*). The word '*alā*', therefore, constitutes an element connected with the 'nearer' signification of *istawā*, which means (though Bahā'addīn does not explicitly say so) that the passage represents the *tawriya muraššaha*, not the *tawriya mucarrada*. In the case of Koran LI, 47, however, he gives as his opinion that the existence of a *tawriya* in

¹ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 12, S II, p. 5.

² Cairo, 1318, IV, pp. 322-326.

³ See above, pp. 74 and 76.

this example depends on one's interpretation of the etymology of the word *aydin* in *bi-aydin*. He makes this clear by pointing out that one of the meanings of *bi-aydin* is 'with force'. This means that *aydin* can be taken as the genitive case of the verbal noun of the verb *āda*, 'to be strong', 'to be firm' (he refers his readers to Zamaxšārī). If one accepts this obvious etymology one is left with a meaning which shows itself "equally close" [to the mind] if compared to the meaning 'with hands', a meaning based on taking *aydin* as the plural of *yad*, 'hand'. Even if one assumes that in this case one of the two meanings of *bi-aydin* is closer to the mind than the other, one does not find one word having two different senses, but two words having two different senses. It follows, he says, that one may speak of a *tawriya* in this example only if one abandons this second etymology and limits oneself to taking *aydin* as a plural of *yad* in the literal sense of 'hand' and the figurative sense of 'force'. In that case one meaning is closer to the mind than the other.

It is easy to see that Bahā'addīn's views on the *tawriya* are somewhat different from those of his contemporary, Šafadī. For we have seen that Šafadī states explicitly that the two meanings of the *tawriya*-word should be fundamentally different. Moreover, Šafadī admits homonymy between nouns of different etymology and even between nouns and verbs, and nouns and particles, whereas Bahā'addīn, as appears from his commentary to Koran LI, 47, does not allow such cases of incidental homonymy.

Another younger contemporary of Šafadī is Sa'daddīn at-Taftāzānī (d. 791).⁴ This author deals with the *tawriya* in a chapter of his work, *aš-Šarḥ al-Muṭawwal 'alā Talxīš al-Miftāḥ*,⁵ which, as the title indicates, is another commentary on the *Talxīš al-Miftāḥ* of Qazwīnī. In this chapter Sa'daddīn at-Taftāzānī points out that explaining Koran XX, 4 and Koran LI, 47 as *tawriyas* does not agree with the views of Zamaxšārī and 'Abdalqāhir al-Curcānī (adding a free rendering of Zamaxšārī's commentary to Koran XXXIX, 67 and a quotation from Curcānī which occurs not in his *Dalā'il al-I'cāz*, as Taftāzānī says, but in his *Asrār al-Balāḡa*).⁶ He then states that "by interpreting these two verses as examples of the *tawriya* the author (*i.e.*, Qazwīnī) follows [a system of interpretation] which is common among the *ahl az-ẓāhir*

⁴ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 215, S II, p. 301. (For Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Arafa ad-Dasūqī, the commentator of Taftāzānī, see, *GAL*, G II, p. 485, S II, p. 737.)

⁵ Istanbul, 1330, pp. 425-426.

⁶ Ed. Ritter, p. 332 (= p. 387 of Ritter's translation of this work). Koran XX, 4 is discussed on pp. 361-362 (= p. 421 of the translation).

min al-mufasssīrīn", i.e., the Zāhirite commentators who accept only the literal sense of the text (to which Dasūqī in his commentary on the shorter version of the *Šarḥ Muṭawwal*, the *Šarḥ Muxtaṣar*,⁷ adds that these commentators accept only the 'farther' meaning of the words *istawā* and *bi-aydīn* in these two verses). Since Sa'daddīn thought it necessary to consult the works of two authorities who were well-versed in both stylistics and Koran-interpretation, it is clear that he had some doubts as to whether the system of interpreting these passages as *tawriyas* had any theoretical foundation. It is a strange coincidence that this curious system of interpretation may have come into being through a misunderstanding of the same passage in Zamaxšarī to which Sa'daddīn is now referring.

The third of the authors who, after Šafadī, made contributions to the theory of the *tawriya* that in my opinion deserve a brief mention is Ibn Ḥicca al-Ḥamawī (d. 837).⁸ This author deals with the *tawriya* in a monograph called *Kašf al-Liṭām 'an Wach at-Tawriya wa-'l-Istixdām*⁹ and also in a long chapter in his *Xizānat al-Adab*.¹⁰ As far as the theoretical sections are concerned, the *Kašf al-Liṭām* and the *tawriya* chapter in the *Xizānat al-Adab* are almost identical. (I have not compared the two illustrative sections, which are fairly large.) I will therefore limit myself to quoting the *Kašf al-Liṭām*, which is probably the more easily accessible of the two works.

The *Kašf al-Liṭām* opens with an introduction in which the author explains that his book owes its origin to the fact that Šafadī's *Faḍḍ al-Xitām* gives less than its title promises, namely a complete picture of the *tawriya* and the *istixdām*. Ibn Ḥicca blames Šafadī for paying too much attention to matters which have no relation to the subject, such as his discussion of the *taḍmīn*. Moreover, he holds it against Šafadī that the latter quotes (in the illustrative section of his work) an extensive

⁷ Both the *Šarḥ Muxtaṣar* of Sa'daddīn at-Taftāzānī and Dasūqī's commentary to this work have been printed in the *Šurūḥ at-Talxīs*, IV, pp. 322-326. I have not been able to find any confirmation of Sa'daddīn's statement that the Zāhirite commentators explained anthropomorphic passages in the Koran as *tawriyas*, though questions of homonymy played an important part in their system of interpretation. See, for instance, R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm* (Paris, 1956), p. 291, on Ibn Ḥazm's interpretation of Koran XXXIX, 67 (which, however, is different from that mentioned by Sa'daddīn). According to Bahā'addīn as-Subkī (see, *Šurūḥ at-Talxīs*, IV, p. 69) the Zāhiriyya also denied the existence of metaphors in the Koran, since, according to them, this would mean that the Koran contained lies (see also Mehren, *op. cit.*, p. 83).

⁸ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 15, S II, p. 8.

⁹ Beirut, 1312.

¹⁰ Cairo, 1304, pp. 239-355.

number of his own epigrams (*maqāfi'*) without daring to classify them under one of the four types of *tawriya*, the *mucarrada*, the *mubayyana*, the *muraššaḥa*, or the *muhayya'a*. He also accuses him repeatedly of plagiarizing other poets (a method which he does not fail to adopt himself in dealing with the theoretical section of the work of his predecessor!) and of sacrificing quality to quantity (pp. 30–31).

The only thing of interest in the introduction is an example of what Ibn Ḥicca considers to be a *tawriya* by a pre-Islamic poet (p. 12). It has been taken from the *Mu'allāqa* of 'Amr b. Kulthūm:

مُسَعَّشَةً كَأَنَّ الْحُصَّ فِيهَا * إِذَا مَا الْمَاءُ خَالَطَهَا سَخِينَا

"Thin wine which looks as though it contained saffron when it is mixed with water that is hot".¹¹ In this line, Ibn Ḥicca explains, the word *saxīnā*, 'hot', can also be taken as the first person plural of the perfect of the verb *saxiya*, in which case the translation of the second hemistich would be: "... when it is mixed with water [and we drink it] we become liberal".¹² This example, which is, like most of the examples the critics have found in ancient Arabic poetry, rather unconvincing (nothing in the context suggests that the word *saxīnā* is meant to have a double meaning), nevertheless shows that even in the ninth century of the Hicra the critics had not ceased to look for examples of the *tawriya* in the earliest period of Arabic literature.

This introduction is followed by the illustrative section of the work. This illustrative section is fairly large and would certainly offer much interesting material if a study of the poets composing *tawriyas* were undertaken. Like the illustrative section of the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*, however, it does not contain any discussion of theoretical importance.

The work ends with a theoretical section which occupies pp. 154 to 168. This section discusses the four types of *tawriya* that are also mentioned in the *Faḍḍ al-Xitām*. To illustrate these Ibn Ḥicca uses many of the examples quoted by his predecessor, and in addition some examples of his own choice. But neither the explanation he offers for the examples of Ṣafadī, nor his commentary on the examples which he has himself selected contains anything that would help us towards a better understanding of the theory underlying Ṣafadī's distinction of these four types

¹¹ 'Amr b. Kulthūm, *Mu'allāqa* (ed. M. Schlössinger in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, Bd. XVI, Heft 1), pp. 26–27; Marzūqī, *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* (Cairo, 1951), p. 188; Zawzanī, *Šarḥ al-Mu'allāqāt as-sab'* (Beirut, 1958), p. 118; Tibrīzī, *Šarḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'ašr* (Cairo, 1367), pp. 218–219.

¹² See the above-mentioned sources and Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v., s-x-w. and s-x-y.

of *tawriya*. Nor does Ibn Ḥicca do much to make up for the other defects of Ṣafadī's work which, as he explained in his introduction, prompted him to write his own book on the subject. As far as I can see, he makes, on the whole, only two contributions: the introduction of a second type of *tawriya mucarrada* which he defines as using in the context of the *tawriya* word elements related to its 'nearer' meaning as well as elements related to its 'farther' meaning, in such a way that neither of these two elements "outweighs" (*yataraccaḥ*) the other; and his definition of the difference between the *lawāzim* or 'attributes' of these 'nearer' and 'farther' meanings in the examples of the *tawriya muraššaḥa* and the *tawriya mubayyana* and the essential element in the context on which the existence of the *tawriya muhayya'a* depends. Both have been mentioned in the Introduction to this study and need not be repeated here. A third contribution to the theory of the *tawriya* is a note (*tanbīh*) in which Ibn Ḥicca quotes teachers in this branch of learning as having found that *tawriyas* based on vulgarisms (*al-luḡāt allatī tadūru 'alā alsinat an-nās*) may not be understandable and should therefore be avoided.

The fourth author I wish to mention in this section is Calāladdīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911).¹³ This author wrote a versification of the *Talxīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of Qazwīnī which he called '*Uqūd al-Cumān fī 'Ilm al-Ma'ānī wa-'l-Bayān*', and on which he himself wrote a commentary. The chapter on the *tawriya* in this commentary¹⁴ contains much material that has been taken from Suyūṭī's predecessors, in particular Ibn Ḥicca al-Ḥamawī. There are only three points which in my opinion deserve to be mentioned:

a. Speaking of the terms *qarīb*, 'near', and *ba'īd*, 'far', in the definition of the *tawriya*, Suyūṭī points out that the question as to which of the two meanings of the *tawriya* word should be considered the 'nearer' and which the 'farther' depends on usage. In another passage which is partly inspired by Ibn Ḥicca he quotes the theorists on the subject (*ahl al-fann*) as having said that the question which of the two occurs earlier to the mind (*asbaq ila 'l-fahm*) depends not only on usage, but also on local conditions (*al-amākin*) and [the influence of] the *lawāzim* in the case of the *tawriya mubayyana* and the *tawriya muraššaḥa*. This would mean (assuming that Suyūṭī agrees with the views of these theorists) that he holds that what is called the 'nearer' meaning need not necessarily be the meaning that occurs first to the mind of the hearer.

¹³ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 143, S II, p. 178.

¹⁴ See pp. 112–115 in the Cairo edition of 1358.

b. Suyūṭī suggests calling the second type of the *tawriya mucarrada* described by Ibn Ḥicca by the name of *tawriya muqtarina*.

c. Suyūṭī cites the case of a critic (whom he does not mention by name) confusing the *tawriya* and the *tardīd*, i.e., the repetition of a word from the preceding sentence in a different context, as in Koran VI, 124: ... *miṭla mā ūtiya rusulu 'llāhi allāhu a'lamu haytu yac'alu risālatahū*... "... the like of what was given to the messengers of God; God knows best where to send His message...". Suyūṭī refers his readers to the *Miṣbāḥ* of Badraddīn b. Mālik for a correct definition of the *tardīd*.¹⁵

The last author I should like to deal with in this study is 'Abdalḡanī an-Nābulusī (d. 1143).¹⁶ This author wrote a work with the title *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār 'alā Nasamāt al-Aṣḥār fī Madḥ an-Nabī al-Muxtār* which, like the work by Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī, is a panegyrical poem on the Prophet, containing rhetorical figures to which the author himself added a commentary. In this work, which was printed in Cairo in 1299, the author deals at some length with the *tawriya* (pp. 188–197), discussing many questions that are already familiar to us. Towards the end of the chapter, however, he brings something new. While commenting on the line that illustrates the *tawriya* in Ṣafiyyaddīn al-Ḥillī's poem, he observes that in a correct *tawriya* "the sentence should admit both senses [of the *tawriya* word]" (*wa-ṣarṭu 't-tawriya an yaṣiḥḥa 'l-kalāmu 'ala 'l-ma'nayayn*). This, he says, is not the case in the line in Ṣafiyyaddīn's poem which runs as follows:

خَيْرَ النَّبِيِّينَ وَالْبُرْهَانَ مُتَّضِحٌ
فِي الْحِجْرِ عَقْلًا وَنَقْلًا وَاضِحَ الْقَمِّ

"... The best of prophets while evidence [thereof] is apparent in the *ḥicr* (i.e., the *Sūrat al-Ḥicr*, the fifteenth chapter of the Koran; or: to [man's] understanding), [being acceptable] intellectually (*'aqlan*) and through tradition (*naqlan*), following the clear middle of the road (?)"

'Abdalḡanī rightly points out that the word *ḥicr*, if taken in the sense of 'understanding', becomes a near synonym of *'aql*, 'intelligence', so that in this particular line the word cannot possibly be taken in any other sense than as the title of the fifteenth chapter of the Koran.

It is true, of course, that 'Abdalḡanī's pointing out one case in which interpreting the line as a *tawriya* would lead to a meaningless repetition of the same concept is not enough to credit him with an interpretation

¹⁵ See pp. 76–77 of the Cairo edition of 1341.

¹⁶ See, *GAL*, G II, p. 345, S II, p. 475.

of the figure more limited than that of his predecessors. Yet it is interesting to note that in most of the examples quoted by 'Abdalḡanī the *tawriya*-word appears in a context that makes fairly good sense with both significations and that, with the exception of the lines by the Qāḡī 'Iyāḡ beginning with *Ka-anna Nisāna (Kānūna)* ..., 'Abdalḡanī omits all the traditional examples used by his predecessors, including those taken from the Koran. His chapter, therefore, constitutes a new, though perhaps not a revolutionary, development.

I have come to the end of this little study. Its original purpose was to give a summary of an unknown and, I think, rather important work of Ṣafadī. In order to make this summary understandable I have had to outline the background of the work, and to give attention to a number of authors who, mostly in a very concise way, dealt with the same problems. I cannot claim either to have covered all the existing material, or to have discussed the Arab theory of *tawriya* from every possible angle. So much seems clear to me: that the Arab literary theorists (in addition sometimes to confusing the *tawriya* with other figures that had little or nothing to do with it) failed to analyze the figure in sufficient detail. In particular they failed to make a distinction between cases where the hearer discovers that the poet is trying to remind him of the two senses of a homonym but has no use for the second sense, and cases where this second sense introduces a surprising new interpretation of the context as a whole. As a result of this the theorists were not completely aware of the artistic possibilities of the *tawriya*. In fairness to the Arab critics I must admit that I do not know whether the literary theorists of other languages were much more successful, and that I have not myself attempted to give a satisfactory theory of the figure. Moreover, I am not certain that I have always understood the Arab theorists correctly, and expect that some, perhaps many, of the translations and interpretations put forward in this study will have to be revised.

نَوَّعَ يَشُقُّ عَلَى الْغَبِيِّ وَجُودَهُ
مِنْ أَيْ بَابِ جَاءَ يَغْدُو مُقْفَلًا

ADDENDA

p. 15. note 17:

Suyūṭī calls Šihābaddīn ar-Ruʿaynī by the *nisba* al-Andalusī, but on p. 3 identifies this al-Andalusī as the companion of Ibn Cābir and the author of a commentary on Ibn Cābir's *Badīʿiyya* (see, *GAL*, G II, p. 13, S II, p. 6).

p. 36. note 31:

Rādūyānī (wrote between 481 and 507) quotes the example in his chapter on *al-kalām al-muḥtamil li-l-maʿnāyayn aḍ-ḍiddayn* which, like the corresponding chapter in Rašīdaddīn's *Ḥadāʾiq*, is not limited to the *tawriya*. Unlike Rašīdaddīn he has no separate chapter on the *tawriya* or the *ihām* and, as far as I know, does not discuss the figure at all.

p. 60. l. 1-2:

The correct title of this commentary seems to be *an-Natāʾic al-Ilāhiyya fī Šarḥ al-Kāfiya al-Badīʿiyya* (see Haccī Xalifa, *Kašf az-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, V. p. 5), though in the Cairo edition and elsewhere it often appears simply as *Šarḥ al-Qašida al-Badīʿiyya*.

p. 60. l. 24:

The Cairo edition reads *ibhām*.

p. 67. note 10:

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī (d. 789, see, *GAL*, G II, p. 14, S II, p. 7) is the author of a *Badīʿiyya* which, according to ʿAbdallāh Muxliṣ (see p. 10 of the Introduction to his edition of Ibn Cābir's *Badīʿiyya* [Cairo, 1348]), was printed in Egypt.

p. 96. note 71:

Ibn Fahd al-Ḥalabī wrote a short treatise on epistolography under the title *Ḥusn at-Tawassul ilā Šināʿat at-Tarassul* which was used by Nuwayrī. It was also known to Šafadī, as appears from a quotation in Ibn Ḥacar's *Durar* (IV, pp. 324-5). It contains chapters on the *ihām*, the *istixdām*, and the *ibhām*. I do not believe that Šafadī benefited from the theories of his teacher on these three figures, though he may have borrowed a few examples from him.

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